

ḤAMZA AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ AND SĀSĀNID HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF *SINĪ MULŪK AL-'ARḌ W' AL-ANBĪYĀ*

RÉSUMÉ

Il reste encore beaucoup des ombres concernant la vie d'Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī (270 H./circa 350 A.H. / 884–circa 961), son époque, l'histoire de sa ville d'origine, Iṣfahān, ainsi que les principales influences ayant affecté l'auteur et son œuvre. Ce qui suit constitue un essai préliminaire dans cette direction. Cette brève analyse inclut également un index descriptif de la géographie historique des Sassanides ainsi qu'elle apparaît dans l'un des ouvrages de Ḥamza, *Sinī Mulūk al-'arḍ w' al-anbīyā* "Dynasties des rois de la terre et des prophètes".²

Mots clés

Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī — Sassanides — Géographie historique.

ABSTRACT

Much remains to be known of the life and times of Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī (270 A.H./circa 350 A.H. / 884–circa 961), the history of his native city, Iṣfahān, and the dominant influences on the author's outlook as well as his work. What follows is a preliminary attempt in this direction. This brief analysis will also include a descriptive index of the historical geography of the Sāsānids as they appear in one of Ḥamza's extant works, *Sinī Mulūk al-'arḍ w' al-anbīyā*.

Keywords

Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī — Sāsānid — Historical Geography.

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Like that of most early medieval scholars of Iran, the details of the life of the philologist and historian

Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan [al-Mu'addib], known as al-Iṣfahānī, are yet to be fully reconstructed. Pending research that further clarifies the biographical details of Ḥamza's life, what follows is a cursory examination of some of the more important aspects of the author's times and life, as we can reconstruct these at present, and the structure of one of the most important of his scholarly productions, *Sinī mulūk al-'arḍ w' al-'anbīyā*, under investigation here. Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan was born in Iṣfahān (Spahān³) around 270 A.H./884 C. E. and spent most of his life in his native city.⁴ He died between 350-360 A.H./961-971 C.E. Iṣfahān of the late ninth and tenth centuries had had a long heritage. As our classical sources seem to indicate, the region held a significant position in western Iran during the Achaemenid (550-330 B.C.E.) and Parthian (250 B.C.E. – 226 C.E.) periods.⁵ In the Parthian romance of *Vīs o Rāmīn*, for example, Āb-Nāhīd (whose theophoric name must be noted) appears as a "noble lady" of Iṣfahan and the daughter of a scribe (*dabīr*) in the city.⁶ This latter also gives us a glimpse of aspects of the administrative infrastructure of the city during the Parthian period. During the Sāsānid

³ The Middle Persian name of the region. Together with Ray, Spahān had an *āmārgar* during the Sāsānid period. For an assessment of the financial and civil administrative powers at the disposal of the *āmārgar*, see Gyselen 1989, p. 35-37. For Spahān also see Gyselen 2002, *passim*.

⁴ Unless otherwise noted, the biographical information on Ḥamza is based on the introduction of Ja'far Shi'ar to his Persian translation of Ḥamza's work, as well as M. E. Gottwaldt's article on Ḥamza, also appended to Shi'ar's translation.

⁵ Schmitt 2001.

⁶ Boyce 1985.

¹ To the extent necessary, we shall provide a detailed translation of the relevant passages here.

² The Arabic edition of the work used here is the Beirut edition of the work by Yusuf Ya'qub Maskuni, 1961. The Persian translation of the work has also been used. This is Ja'far Shi'ar's translation and edition of 1988 which appeared under the title of *Tārīkh-i Payāmbarān wa Shāhān*.

period one of the principal cities of the province of Spāhān seems to have been the *rūstā* of Jayy, the Arabized version of the Middle Persian name of the region, Gay, itself derived from (*old Persian*) Gaba, and known to classical authors by the name of (*Greek*) Gabai.⁷ Considered part of the Pahlav⁸ (Parthian) dominions during the Sāsānid period,⁹ the region was a centrally important territory of western Iran at this time. During the Arab conquest of Iran, when the caliph 'Umar (634-644 C.E.) asked Hormozān – the famous dynastic leader, called a Mede¹⁰ – to prioritize those regions of Iran the conquest of which would cripple the Sāsānids, Hormozān is said to have selected Iṣfahān as the head, while Azarbāyjān and Fārs he considered to be analogous to the wings.¹¹ In “the model of all Sāsānid” towns, the city of Gay had four gates: The “Gates of the Jews,” the “Gate of Khūr,” the “Gate of Tira” and the “Gate of Isfij.”¹² As the name of these gates indicate, a variety of Iranian gods held prominence in the city. Khūr, which most probably stands for new Persian Khurshīd (sun),¹³ and Tira, standing for the Iranian *yazata* Tīr,¹⁴ were two of these. As the name of another gate indicates, there was also a substantial Jewish community in Iṣfahān during the Sāsānid period. This continued to be the case in the history of the city thenceforth.¹⁵ In fact, as we shall see shortly, part of the Jewish community of Iṣfahān took part in a fascinating “heretical” movement in the early medieval history of the city. While the settlement of the Armenian population in the region is usually dated back to the Safavid period only,¹⁶ we have evidence of Armenian settlement in the city as far back as the

Sāsānid period during the reign of Khusrow Parvīz (591-628).¹⁷

While layers of tradition have garbled the accounts of the Arab conquest of Iṣfahān,¹⁸ the crucial strategic importance of the region during the period is highlighted in almost all of our *futūḥ* narratives. As mentioned, central in these is the role of the figure of Hormozān. While the agnatic, gentilial background of Hormozān can not be ascertained with any degree of certainty for now, there is every indication to assume that he was a “dynastic”¹⁹ figure who belonged to the “seven” great families of the Sāsānid period.²⁰ In fact Sayf b. 'Umar maintains that Hormozān's family “was higher in rank than anybody in Fārs,”²¹ and thus we get a glance of a “noble” family of Iṣfahān under whose control must have come substantial wealth in land and otherwise. The ultimate defeat of Hormozān, after sustained warfare against the Arabs, and the strategic insights that he eventually betrayed, it seems reluctantly, were *one* of the important causal factors in the ultimate success of the Arab conquest of Iran.

While the details of Arab settlement²² and the consequent conversion processes affecting Iṣfahān

⁷ Schmitt 2001.

⁸ For the Pahlav dominions during the Sāsānid period, see the author's forthcoming work, Pourshariati 2007.

⁹ Together with Rayy, and “other regions,” Bīrūnī includes Iṣfahān as amongst the “lands of Pahlā [i.e., Pahlav/Parthia].” Bīrūnī 1984, p. 355.

¹⁰ *Khuzistan Chronicle* 1903, p. 35:20 / 29:30, cited in Robinson 2004, p. 17.

¹¹ Lambton, 2003, p. 1.

¹² Barthold 1984, p. 170 especially n. 7.

¹³ Boyce 1969, *passim*.

¹⁴ So named after the Iranian rain god Tīštrya. See Boyce 1996, p. 74-78.

¹⁵ When Benjamin of Tudela visited the city sometime in the 6th/12th century, he observed that there were 15,000 Jews in the city. Lambton 2003, p. 2.

¹⁶ Lambton 2003, p. 2.

¹⁷ Sebeos 1999, p. 41.

¹⁸ Noth 1968, p. 274-96.

¹⁹ For a definition of dynasticism, as used in this context, see the author's upcoming work, Pourshariati 2007.

²⁰ While we are almost certain that Hormozān was a powerful figure of the late Sāsānid period, and while there is every indication that, like all other analogous figures, he brought his own substantial army to the front during the wars of conquest, it is not clear whether he belonged to the “Pahlav” (i.e., Parthian) or the “Parsīg” (i.e. *aḥl-i Fārs*) umbrella factions. For a detailed exposition of the role played by these factions, i.e., what we have termed the Sāsānid/Parthian confederacy, during the Sāsānid period; see *ibid*.

²¹ Ṭabarī 1989, p. 115.

²² Based on the information provided by the *Ta'riḫ Qum*, it has been maintained that during the governorship of Hajjāj from 75/694 “there appears to have been some settlement” of Arabs in Iṣfahān. Lambton 2003. Amongst these the *Ta'riḫ Qum* mentions the settlement of Banū Tamīm in Jayy. The rest, however, should be more properly located in the region of Qum, which in fact did experience a comparatively substantial – although the numbers of these are yet to be calculated through a sound methodology – settlement of Arabs, as the *Ta'riḫ Qum* bears witness. The Banū Qays, therefore, are said to have settled in the *rūstāq* of Anār (next to a river so-named in Qum) and Taymara, and the Ash'arites in Kumīdān (the

— like that of most other major Iranian cities — are thus yet to be written, there is every indication that as an important Sāsānīd city — albeit it with a different urban and administrative structure than that which it eventually obtained by the tenth century — a substantial number from various Zoroastrian communities as well as adherents of non-Zoroastrian, Iranian religions, continued to exist in ninth century Iṣfahān. By the late ninth, early tenth century, and side by side of these, there was naturally a growing Muslim community. This latter was itself tremendously heterogeneous. All these communities must have maintained — whether through an oral or a textual tradition or both — their ancient lore alive.²³ Ḥamza readily availed himself of these rich sources of information available to him.

Iṣfahān seems to have been one of the major centers for the collection and transmission of the various recensions of the *Khwadāy Nāma* (or the Book of Kings) tradition. A cursory examination of *Sinī Mulūk al-'arḍ w' al-anbīyā* testifies to the abundant use that Ḥamza made of this tradition.²⁴ The transmission of a number of recensions of the *Khwadāy Nāma* tradition in general are attributed to the Iṣfahānī Iranian scholars.²⁵ An ancient pre-Islamic library, in fact, seems to have existed in Iṣfahān, specifically within the city of Jayy, a library which seems to have been discovered during the life-time of Ḥamza himself. In the *Fihrist*, Ibn

ancient name for the city of Qum). In fact as the *Ta'rīkh Qum* makes it clear, it was predominantly as a result of the settlement of the Arabs in Qum and the accumulation by these of properties and land in its environs, that the progeny of the Arab settlers petitioned the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809) to make Qum into a separate administrative region and establish it as an independent *kūra*. Qumī 1982, p. 21-25, and p. 28-31.

²³ The prolific *Shāhnāma* production in Iran during this period and the almost concurrent growth of the classical Islamic historical and religious corpus, underline the fact that the two communities were busy engaging in antiquarian constructions of their identities in general. Iṣfahān, as we shall see, took a substantial share in the articulation of both.

²⁴ Zeev Rubin is currently working on the sources of Ḥamza's *The History of the Kings and Prophets*.

²⁵ In the *Muqaddama* of the *Shāhnāma-i Abū Maṣṣūrī*, for example, Mu'amarī mentions a Bahrām-i Iṣfahānī, another version of whose name is given as Bahrām b. Mihrān Iṣfahānī — note the Parthian Mihrānīd genealogy of the figure — and Hishām Qāsim Iṣfahānī. See Qazvīnī 1984, p. 54-55, and notes. Another figure listed is Dhādhūya b. Shāhdhūya Iṣfahānī. And of course there was Ḥamza Iṣfahānī himself.

Nadīm²⁶ (377/987) devotes a substantial section to the description of remains of the fortress within which ancient manuscripts were found.²⁷ This in fact seems to be a complete borrowing of the material from Ḥamza, without proper citation. According to Ḥamza in 350 A.H. one side of the building of Sārūya, which was located inside the city of Jayy, was destroyed. Within a house there, 50 loads ('*adlan*'²⁸) of hide were found. On these, there were inscriptions in a language unknown to anyone. They asked me about this incredible place, Ḥamza maintains. I brought them one of the books of Abū Ma'shar²⁹ (787-886), which had been translated into Arabic as the *Book of Zīj*. Ḥamza here begins by quoting from Abū Ma'shar, a scholar deemed by some as an Iranian "nationalist."³⁰ Here, he provides what must have been popular stories, contained in the *Book of Zīj* of Abū Ma'shar, that underscore the keenness of Iranian kings in preserving ancient sciences. In order to preserve the ancient knowledge, the Iranian kings used sheets made of white poplar (*tūz*), which were sturdy against natural disasters and not susceptible to decay. The Indians and the Chinese and other people living in their proximity followed them. Once they had found these, they sought territories which were devoid of earthquakes, and where the climate was conducive to the protection of books from climatic hazards. Nowhere, Ḥamza maintains, did they find a more suitable territory than Jayy. Here, therefore, in the fortress (*kuhan dizh*) of Jayy, they left their knowledge in safe-keeping. This "edifice exists to our own day"³¹ and it is called Sārūya. Part of its construction, however, was destroyed many years ago, Iṣfahānī continues to elaborate. The books found in the library were in various ancient sciences, and were written in the old Persian script. Some of these were brought to a figure who became aware of their significance and could read them. Amongst these was one dealing with Iranian kings. A tradition

²⁶ The correct form of the author's name, as Sundermann points out, is al-Nadīm, Ibn Nadīm having gained mistaken currency. Sundermann sd.

²⁷ Ibn Nadīm 1987, p. 438-439.

²⁸ Iṣfahānī 1969, p. 149.

²⁹ Pingree sd.

³⁰ Pingree sd.

³¹ It is naturally not clear whether this refers to Abū Ma'shar's period or to that of Ibn Nadīm.

describing the attribution of the construction of this library in Gay to Ṭahmūrath is then narrated here.³² Thus far, Ḥamza maintains, "I have quoted from Abū Ma'shar's book describing one of the buildings that still remains in Iṣfahān. He [i.e., Abū Ma'shar] is describing that part of this construction which was destroyed around a 1000 years ago..."³³ The building that collapsed in 305 A.H., however, Ḥamza continues, was another building. From there large books, the script of which was unlike that of other nations, were found. These could not be read. This building is still one of the lasting edifices of the eastern lands, as the pyramids are those of the west.³⁴

Attributed to Ibn Ishāq, this section of Ḥamza is included in Ibn Nadīm's *Fihrist* with further information.³⁵ I have heard from a trustworthy person, Ibn Nadīm quotes Ibn Ishāq, that in 350 A.H. one of the *saghs*³⁶ in Iṣfahān was destroyed. Many books were found there, books which no one had the ability to read. "What I myself have seen with my own eyes were books which Abu'l Faḍl b. 'Amīd had sent [presumably to Baghdad] in the early 40s. These were torn books that had been found in trunks deposited in the walls (*bārū*) of the city of Iṣfahān. These were in the Greek language, and when those who were familiar with these, like Yūḥannā and others, obtained them, it became apparent that they were lists of soldiers and their salaries."³⁷ While, as the accounts of Ibn Nadīm makes clear, scholars with knowledge of the ancient Iranian, presumably Middle Persian, and other languages, were not numerous in Iṣfahān, and while it is not clear whether Ḥamza himself had any knowledge of Middle Persian, his own testimony underlines the fact that in tenth century Iṣfahān, Ḥamza Iṣfahānī al-Mu'addib was considered a scholar well-versed in pre-Islamic Iranian heritage.

Besides groups who consciously and systematically considered themselves custodians of pre-

Islamic Iranian traditions, Iṣfahān of the late ninth and early tenth century was a buzzing center of scholars engaged in the preservation and articulation of a variety of Islamic traditions. In fact a cursory list of some of the contemporaries of Ḥamza testifies to the thriving intellectual and religious climate of the city during the author's lifetime. Side by side of Ḥamza, traditionalists, mu'tazilites, sufis, and scientists, all seem to have found a home in Iṣfahān of the tenth century. Significantly, some of these clearly came from ancient and established Iranian families of the city. Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (948-1038),³⁸ the famous "traditionalist" and sufi who collected sufi biographies in his *Helyat al-Owliyā'*, for example, came from the Parthian Mihrān family, a family whose ancestors had a "long established" history in the city. The history of the conversion of this particular branch of the Mihrānids seems to fit the conversion curve established by Bulliet.³⁹ To what extent their history corresponds to the history of the conversion of other important families in the region, remains to be seen. For, as we have established elsewhere, the Mihrāns were in fact amongst those Parthian families who seem to have lost their power the earliest in the post-conquest centuries.⁴⁰ The ancestor of this group of Parthian Mihrānids had converted to Islam as clients of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyya b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abū Ṭālib (d. 131/748-49).⁴¹ The famous traditionalist and sufi Abū Nu'aym, therefore, seems to have been a third generation Muslim.

While the Ḥanafī law school was not as successful in western Iran, as it was in the east, by the first half of the third/ninth century significant Ḥanafite communities seem to have been established there as well.⁴² Ḥanafism seems to have spread into Iṣfahān through the circle of "prominent" Iṣfahānī scholars surrounding Sufyān al-Thawrī.⁴³ The Shāfi'ī school had also spread to Iran from Egypt in the

³² Iṣfahānī 1969, p. 150. Ibn Nadīm 1987, p. 439.

³³ Iṣfahānī 1969, p. 151.

³⁴ Iṣfahānī 1969, p. 151.

³⁵ Ibn Nadīm 1987, p. 440.

³⁶ A *sagh* is a long tunnel like edifice with dome-shaped roofs. Dihkhoda 1998.

³⁷ Ibn Nadīm 1987, p. 440.

³⁸ Madelung sda; Pedersen 2007.

³⁹ Bulliet 1979.

⁴⁰ Once again for an elaboration of this see the author's forthcoming, Pourshariati 2007.

⁴¹ Madelung sdb.

⁴² Tsafirir 1988, p. 1-21, here p. 1 and the sources cited therein.

⁴³ Tsafirir 1988, p. 12. "At least seven and perhaps ten [Iṣfahānī] Ḥanafī scholars who died in the third/ninth century are recorded – some of them quite prominent..." *ibid.*, p. 13.

middle of the third/ninth century.⁴⁴ The Mihrānīd traditionalist, Abū Nu‘aym, apparently followed the Shafī‘ite schools in “legal and ritual” matters.⁴⁵ It was in Işfahān of Ḥamza’s time, moreover, that Şāhib b. ‘Ibād, the chief councilor, and later vizir, of Mu‘ayyad al-Dowla, and an “active champion of the Mu‘tazilite doctrine,” was joined by the chief *qāḍī* (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of Rayy and the “most prominent theologian of the late Mu‘tazilites school...”. This prominent Mu‘tazilite theologian, ‘Abd al-Jabbār (b. circa 320-325/932-937, d. 415/1024-25), visited Işfahān on a number of occasions, it seems, amongst them in 340/951-52, 345/956-57 and 346/957-58.⁴⁶ The sciences were also well cultivated in Işfahān. When the renowned astronomer of Rayy, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar b. Sahl al-Şūfī al-Rāzī, the pupil of Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī, and the astrologer of the Buyid ‘Aḍud al-Dowla, visited Işfahān in 337/948-949,⁴⁷ and met with the vizir of Rukn al-Dowla, Ibn al-‘Amīd (d. 359/970), there is a good probability that amongst the Iranian scholars in the city, he also met Ḥamza. In any case the two were contemporaries and must have frequented some of the same scholarly circles in Işfahān. A fertile scholarly atmosphere seems to have continued to characterize Işfahān in subsequent generations. The thirteenth century cosmographer and geographer Qazwīnī⁴⁸ points out in his *Athār al-bilād wa akhbār al-‘ibād* that the Işfahānīs continued to be noted for their learning in *fiqh*, *adab*, astronomy and medicine.⁴⁹

The social currents of the late antique history of Iran — currents with strong political overtones —

⁴⁴ By the tenth century the great mosque of Işfahān had apparently come to be dominated by the Hanbalite faction. Madelung sdb.

⁴⁵ As Madelung notes the introduction to Ḥamza’s *Dhikr Akhbār Işfahān*, “a biographical dictionary of Işfahān’s religious scholars (chiefly traditionalists), completed in or after 419/1028 ... contains a collection of statements of the Prophet in praise of the Persians.” The topography and short history of Işfahān contained therein are apparently based on Ḥamza’s lost *Kitāb Işfahān*. Madelung 1931, p. 354.

⁴⁶ Madelung sda.

⁴⁷ His book, *Kitāb al-ṣunvar al-kawākib al-thābita* (Book on the Constellation of Fixed Stars), became a classic not only in the Islamic world, but in the Latin west, he himself becoming known as “Azophi.” “One of the lunar craters in modern astronomy is named Azophi in his honor.” See Kunitzsch sd.

⁴⁸ Lewicki 2006.

⁴⁹ Cited by Lambton 2007, p. 4.

were, nevertheless, still predominant in the native homeland of Ḥamza. A telling indication of this is Işfahān’s integral participation in the “*khurramdīn*” movement — a movement that began to seriously undermine the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate in the first half of the ninth century. About half a century before Ḥamza’s birth, around 218 A.H./833 C. E. during the caliphate of Mu‘taṣim, therefore, we hear that the population of Işfahān, together with those of Hamadān, had joined the “*khurramdīns*,” and occupying the neighboring regions, had participated in the revolts that had reached their heights during Bābak’s rebellion in Āzarbāyjān. The “*khurramdīn*” dimension of the city’s history, together with other socio-political upheavals that subsequently engulfed it, should not be ignored in any assessment of the life and times of Ḥamza, his outlook and his scholarly predilections.⁵⁰ Ḥamza, therefore, was born into a city in the recent history of which there was a substantial “*khurramdīn*” current. And this and other analogous aspects of Ḥamza’s social milieu, must certainly be taken into account when investigating the charges hurled on him of harboring *shu‘ūbī* sentiments.⁵¹

Amongst the more important sectarian rebellions that engulfed the city, mention must be made of the Jewish revolt of the Īsawīya shortly after this. The Īsawīya were the followers of Abū Īsā Işfahānī. We have scanty information about the movement led by Abū Īsā. Much of these come from heresiographers such as Shahrestānī (d. 548/1143) and the Karaite author Qerqesānī in his *Kitāb al-anwār w ‘al-marāqib* (circa 329/939).⁵² While these authors were not contemporary with Abū Īsā and his movement, and hence their accounts seem to be embellished,⁵³ we do in fact know a few fascinating details about Abū Īsā and his movement. In Işfahān, the Īsawīya

⁵⁰ As we have argued elsewhere, the contention that *all* of these revolts, “overtly mixed Persian and Islamic religious beliefs and motives,” under the “the generic name of ... *khurramīyya*,” needs to be reassessed, for this assessment clearly contradicts the argument that these were “*anti-Arab and anti-Muslim*” movements that “reached [their] climax in the great rebellion” of Bābak. Madelung 1998, p. 1-2; and Madelung 2007. Emphasis added. See Pourshariati 2007.

⁵¹ See below.

⁵² All information pertaining to the Īsawīya is taken from J. Lassner’s interesting article. Lassner sd.

⁵³ Lassner sd.

led a movement against the caliphate. While the date of their movement is open to dispute,⁵⁴ it seems that their uprising took place in the early 'Abbasid period, during the rule of Manṣūr (136-58/754-75).⁵⁵ At this point, Abū Īsā, who claimed prophethood, is said to have "led 10,000 partisans whom he commanded in battle as the forerunner of the Messiah." His forces were apparently decimated, and Abū Īsā himself killed, significantly, near Rayy, one of the cradles of the Parthian Mihrānid family who were predominantly Mihr worshippers. As with all other "Messianic" movements of the time, after Abū Īsā's death, his followers considered him to have disappeared. The potential connection of the Īsawīya movement with the various Iranian revolts that erupted at the end of the Umayyād and beginning of the 'Abbasid period, points to a fascinating venue of research.⁵⁶

Besides the *khurramdīn* movement, other political events that engulfed Iṣfahān through the ninth and tenth centuries, are sure to have affected the hierarchy of power in Iṣfahān and transformed its social structure. These need to be investigated in detail before we can make any unequivocal statements. A cursory list of the political transformations affecting the city, however, does provide a reliable gauge for conjecturing on the nature of some of these changes. Shortly after the *khurramdīn* upheavals, during the short caliphate of Wāthiq (227-232 A.H./842-847 C.E.), the Kurds are

said to have wrought havoc on Iṣfahān.⁵⁷ In order to calm these, the caliph sent the Turkish general Waṣīf against them. Having been successful in his mission, Waṣīf apparently distributed vast tracts of land, presumably in and around the environs of Iṣfahān as *iqṭā'*.⁵⁸ Under whose control the ownership of these lands could have been prior to the arrival of Waṣīf — and whether or not they had already been bought from their original Iranian owners by the caliphs — as it happened with extensive tracts of land in northern Iran under Hārūn al-Rashīd, — their agents, or various early Arab-Muslim elite,⁵⁹ we do not know. Be that as it may, we witness a second inroad into the socio-political and hence economic infrastructure of Iṣfahān subsequent to Waṣīf's control over the region. For in 253/867 the governorship of Iṣfahān was given to 'Abd 'Azīz b. Abū Dulaf. Again, we remain in the dark about the possible effects of the governorship of the Abū Dulaf family on the social structure of the Iṣfahānī society. The Abū Dulaf continued to remain in power in Iṣfahān until 282/895-6 when al-Mu'ta'id is said to have seized the family's properties.⁶⁰

Through the period of effective caliphate of Muwaffaq (870-891),⁶¹ i.e., when Ḥamza was born and reached about 10 years of age, Iṣfahān came under the control of the anti-'Abbāsīd Ṣaffārīds.⁶² Once again, the implications of this, in terms of the social and political structure of Iṣfahān, remains to be seen. For, as we know, not only did the Ṣaffārīds divert tribute to the 'Abbāsīds only intermittently, but Ya'qūb, the progenitor of the dynasty "especially[,] was contemptuous of the 'Abbāsīds and of the aristocratic Arab political and social tradition which they and their governors like the Ṭāhirīds represented..."⁶³ In the early decades of the fourth/tenth century, moreover, the city became a point of contention between the consciously

⁵⁴ Qerqesānī maintains that the uprising took place during the rule of the Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/685-705).

⁵⁵ This date is given by Shahrestānī, who nevertheless maintains that the movement started during the rule of 'Abd al-Malik. Lassner argues that what we know of the nature of the movement parallels that of the numerous "pro-Shi'ite sects with messianic overtones during the final years..." of the Umayyad caliphate. The final eruption of the Īsawīya revolt coincided, in other words, with the "local insurrections," following the murder of Abū Muslim by al-Manṣūr.

⁵⁶ While in practice following Rabbinic Judaism, Abū Īsā, who seemed to have believed in the prophethood of Jesus and Muḥammad, also imposed certain ascetic practices on his followers. The Īsawīya and analogous sectarian Jewish movements to the east are believed to have had minimal contact with "traditional Jewish learning... [and] in part [to have] assimilate[d], various notions current among non-Jewish groups in the area." Although, it has also been significantly claimed that it is "...too soon to declare Iran the cradle of Jewish sectarianism in early Islamic times." Lassner sd.

⁵⁷ Dihkhoda 1998, p. 2757.

⁵⁸ Dihkhoda 1998, p. 2757.

⁵⁹ Ibn Isfandiyār 1366, p. 190, 197-198.

⁶⁰ With a brief interval, the Abū Dulaf were kept in their post during the Ṣaffārīd rule over the city. For the progenitors of the Abū Dulaf family, see Donner sd.; Lambton 2007, p. 100a.

⁶¹ Kennedy 2007.

⁶² Bosworth 2007a.

⁶³ Bosworth 2007a.

tiquarian Iranian dynasties of the Ziyārids⁶⁴ and the Buyids, and for a brief period of time even the māmids.⁶⁵ When Iṣfahān was engulfed in the upheavals wrought on the city by these Iranian dynasties, Ḥamza was spending his adolescent and early adult years.

With its *khurradmīn* currents, with various communities living in an administratively and culturally fast changing city, with Turkic and Arab ruling apparatus constantly engaged in redefining the social hierarchies of the city, and finally with various antiquarian Iranian dynasties vying for gaining the control of this ancient Sāsānid city from new ruling elements, the Iṣfahān of Ḥamza and his contemporaries must have been a hotbed of contentious identities. As Ḥamza's literary output bears witness, there is no doubt that the pervasive Iranian cultural currents in Iṣfahān of the ninth and first half of the tenth century affected Ḥamza's intellectual upbringing and account for his patent interest in the Persian cultural tradition. In fact there is every indication to assume that in his native city, Ḥamza came to establish a reputation for being one of the most learned authorities on the Iranian cultural heritage. Ḥamza's interest in the pre-Islamic Iranian heritage is, by far, the most prominent aspect of his literary output and preoccupation. From the book under investigation here wherein, as we shall see, a substantial section is dedicated to the histories of Iranian kings, to the treatises he wrote on the Iranian New Year, Nowrūz and the festival of Mihriḡān, (*Risāla al-'ash'ār al-sā'ira fī 'l-nayrūz wa -'l-mihriḡān*), to the obsession he had with the etymologies of words Persian in his *Al-muwāzana bayn al-'Arabiyya wa'l-Fārisiyya*, and finally to his vivid interest in the works of the Perso-Arab poet Abū Nuwās (747-762/813-815), for the collection of whose *opus* he traveled to Baghdad, Ḥamza's preoccupation with his heritage is patent. This aspect of the author's intellectual predilections is also reflected in the social circles that sustained his scholarly activities in the few trips that he undertook outside his native city.

For a while Ḥamza seems to have been patronized by the Barmakids. His subsequent close friendship with the Nawbakhtīs — from whom he obtained not only the manuscripts of works of Abū Nuwās,⁶⁶ but information on the life of the poet —, further integrated him within that social milieu which was aggressively pushing for a resurgence of the Iranian cultural tradition.⁶⁷ Whether or not one agrees with Goldziher's judgment that Ḥamza was an advocate of the *shu'ūbiyya* movement⁶⁸ depends of course on one's assessment of the nature of the movement — about which, incidentally, a number of erudite works notwithstanding, the last words have yet to be said. However we perceive the *shu'ūbiyya*, there is no doubt that Ḥamza was perceived by his near contemporaries, and in fact in subsequent generations, as a *shu'ūbī*. Given this, our contemporary discussion of whether or not Ḥamza was a *shu'ūbī* seems to be moot. For clearly, our assessment of this aspect of Ḥamza's intellectual predilection is of far less value than that of his contemporaries. Ḥamza is openly described by al-Qifṭī⁶⁹ "...as a Persian nationalist with strong prejudices against the Arabs." Tha'ālībī also blamed Ḥamza for preferring the Iranians. We may note as well that Ḥamza was born during the apogee of the movement. The charges of harboring *shu'ūbī* sentiments, hurled at Ḥamza, "... may well be a true," argues Rosenthal. "We do find him greatly concerned with matters Persian," maintains Rosenthal. Ḥamza, however, Rosenthal continues, "also shows himself fully aware of the importance of the cultural rôle of the Arabs."⁷⁰ This, of course, as we have briefly argued, was only part of the picture. For Iṣfahān of the fourth century *hijra* was

⁶⁶ Wagner 2007, p. 143a.

⁶⁷ Two of Ḥamza's three visits to Baghdad took place in 308/920-1 and 323/935. Rosenthal 2007, p. 156a. In 323 he undertook his third trip to Baghdad in order to consult the manuscripts of the works of Abū Nuwās which were in possession of the Nawbakhtī family. Nawbakht and his son Abū Sahl, as we know, were both astronomers of Maṣṣūr's (754-775) court. Abū Nuwās had befriended the sons of Abū Sahl Nawbakht, Ismā'īl, Suleymān and Faḍl. It was thus that the works of Abū Nuwās had come into the possession of the Nawbakht family. Mittwoch 1942, in Iṣfahānī 1988, p. hijdah.

⁶⁸ Mittwoch, for example, while acknowledging Ḥamza's interest in things Persian, disagrees with Goldziher's assessment that Ḥamza was an important *shu'ūbī* figure. Mittwoch 1942, in Iṣfahānī 1988, p. bist-o-dow.

⁶⁹ Dietrich 2007, p. 840a.

⁷⁰ Rosenthal 2007, p. 156a.

⁶⁴ Bosworth 2007b.

⁶⁵ Dihkhoda 1998, p. 2757.

also, as we have seen, a den of the Muslim savant and literati, amongst whom one must count Ḥamza himself.⁷¹ According to Mittwoch the number of Arab literati in Iṣfahān was in fact so numerous that many anthologies of their lives and works were written.⁷² Without the lost works of Ḥamza and without a thorough examination of his extant works, rash conclusions are of course unjustified. There seems to be enough evidence, however, that points to Ḥamza's clear proclivity for the pre-Islamic Iranian heritage.

ḤAMZA'S WORKS

Ḥamza's works naturally testify to his scholarly interests and pursuits. An historian as well as a prolific grammarian, Ḥamza, whose native tongue was Persian, wrote 12 books from amongst which only four survive: *al-Tanbīh 'alā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf*; *Kitāb al-amthāl 'alā af'al*; *Sharḥ akhbār Abū Nuwās*; and finally the present *Sinī mulūk al-'arḍ w' al-'anbīyā*. An incomplete manuscript of one of his books called *Al-muwāzana bayn al-'Arabiyya w' al-Fārisiyya*, parts of which have been preserved in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam* and Suyūṭī's *al-Muzhir fī 'ulūm al-lughā wa 'anwā'ihā*,⁷³ is also apparently extant. One of Ḥamza's regrettably lost works was his important history of Iṣfahān, the *Ta'rīkh Iṣfahān*. Fortunately, the work was used extensively by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Qumī in his *Ta'rīkh Qum*.⁷⁴

Ḥamza's *al-Tanbīh 'alā ḥudūth al-taṣḥīf*, a work on the "misspellings caused by the Arabic script..." has also been called by Rosenthal "an outstanding achievement in the field of cultural history."⁷⁵ His book on proverbs, *Kitāb al-amthāl 'alā af'al*, dealt

"with comparative proverbs and include[d] some appendixes on other types of proverbial expressions and on superstitious beliefs and amulets"; in his book on lexicography, the partially preserved *Muwāzana*, Ḥamza "...was greatly concerned with finding — often far-fetched — Persian etymologies..."⁷⁶ If the following anecdote is any gauge, however, it is clear that Ḥamza's persistent obsession with finding Persian etymologies did not distract from the information that he otherwise provides. In his etymological investigation of the word *ta'rīkh*, for example — with which some do not agree, and which has also been quoted by Bīrūnī — he provides us with a very interesting anecdote that betrays the difficulties posed for the early Muslim community as a result of the lack of a calendar: The word *ta'rīkh*, he maintains, is a new word that has entered the Arabic language and is the Arabized version of the Persian word "*māh-rūz*" he maintains. Furāt b. Salmān narrates from Maymūn b. Mihrān⁷⁷ that the latter brought a financial deed [?], the date of which was Sha'bān to 'Umar b. Khaṭṭāb. 'Umar, exacerbated by the confusion over whether this would be the present Sha'bān or the upcoming Sha'bān, gathers the leading Companions and remarks: Wealth (*amwāl*) has increased tremendously and whatever we have divided has no date. How can we collect our dues on the basis of this calendar? They replied that one must learn accounting from the customs of the Iranians. So 'Umar called upon Hormozān — the famous dynastic leader —, and enquired from him. Hormozān replied that we call our calendar "*māh-rūz*" which means the counting of months and days. They thus Arabized this word, Ḥamza maintains, into *muwarrikh* and used its infinitive (*maṣdar*) as *ta'rīkh*. They then began to think of marking a beginning for the history of the Islamic government. Over this they became divided, until finally they decided upon the *hijra* as the beginning of their calendar.

⁷¹ Mittwoch 1942, in Iṣfahānī 1988, p. pānzdah.

⁷² Mittwoch 1942, in Iṣfahānī 1988, p. pānzdah.

⁷³ Qazvīnī 1953, p. 163, as quoted in *Ta'rīkh payāmbārān wa shāhān*, p. davāzdah, n. 2.

⁷⁴ The original Arabic version of Qumī is likewise no longer extant. The manuscript we currently possess is unfortunately only an incomplete version of the Persian translation of the work by Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Abdalmalik Qumī in the early ninth century *hijra*.

⁷⁵ Rosenthal 2007, p. 156a. On the other hand, in his book *Muwāzana* he observes, for example, that there are 400 synonyms for the word "misfortune" in Arabic, but hastens to remark that the wealth of these synonyms is an ill-fortune in itself. Mittwoch postulates that Ḥamza might very well be joking here. I would like to thank my colleague, Dr. Asif Kholdani for highlighting this to me. Iṣfahānī 1988.

⁷⁶ Rosenthal 2007, p. 156a.

⁷⁷ Note that this Maymūn b. Mihrān, clearly from the dynastic Parthian Mihrān family, was probably either not a convert or a first generation convert, as his name betrays. He seems to have been amongst that group of Iranians who communicated Persian lore and culture to the Arabs.

Amongst the important works of Ḥamza, one must count his collection of the *diwān* of the most celebrated Arabic poet of the early 'Abbāsid period, Abū Nuwās.⁷⁸ Of this we have a number of recensions. Here as well Ḥamza highlights the Persian dimensions of the poetry of Abū Nuwās. As Mittwoch observes, when citing the proverbs used by Abū Nuwās, Ḥamza also underlines those which the poet had directly translated from Persian.⁷⁹ Ḥamza's *diwān* of Abū Nuwās, while less critically selected than that of al-Ṣūlī,⁸⁰ was nevertheless not simply an anthology of the poetry of this celebrated poet but "...contain[ed] much valuable literary information..."⁸¹

SOURCES AND STRUCTURE OF *SINĪ MULŪK* *al-'ARD W' al-ANBIYĀ*

One of the strengths of Ḥamza's work in *Sinī mulūk al-'ard w' al-'anbiyā* is his loyalty to the sources that he uses. As Mittwoch observes, Ḥamza's habit of indicating the authors and books which he had used, at times provides us with extracts that would have been otherwise lost.⁸² Ḥamza not only used Arab and/or Muslim scholars, but consulted with Jews, Greeks and Zoroastrians, when writing the respective histories of these communities. In each instance he cites his sources.⁸³ A substantial section of the *Sinī* on the chronology of Iranian kings is based on these. During his stay in Baghdad in 308, therefore, Ḥamza collaborated with a Jewish scholar called Ṣadqiyā whom he commissioned to gather for him the history of the Israelites.⁸⁴ Part of the chapter that he includes on this subject, he attributes directly to Ṣadqiyā.⁸⁵ Other parts of this section on the history of the Israelites are attributed to the book of F-n-hās b. Bāṭay-i 'Ibrī.⁸⁶ His chapter on the kings of Constantinople also had an indigenous source. "I learnt these histories," Ḥamza maintains,

from a Roman who had fallen captive into the hands of Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Abū Dulaf." "He was a great man," Ḥamza maintains, "who knew how to read and write Greek, but was slow in speaking Arabic. He had a son called Y-m-n [?] who was a soldier in the sulṭān's army and was a learned astrologer. This son translated for me from a book in Greek that was read by his father."⁸⁷ From this association of Ḥamza with the Abū Dulaf family, incidentally, it becomes apparent that Ḥamza had access to the ruling circles of his city as well.

As is apparent in *Sinī mulūk al-'ard w' al-'anbiyā*, an important nucleus of personal collections and/or libraries containing various recensions of the *Khawādāy Nāma* also existed in Iṣfahān. In chapter one, before discussing the chronology of pre-Islamic kings of Iran from the Pishdādiyān onwards, Ḥamza lists eight different sources: *kitāb siyar al-mulūk*, translated by Ibn Muqaffa'; *kitāb siyar al-mulūk al-furus*, translated by Muḥammad b. Jahm Barmakī; *kitāb ta'rīkh al-mulūk al-furus*, from the treasury of Ma'mūn; *kitāb siyar al-mulūk al-furus*, translated by Dhādhūya b. Shādhūya Iṣfahānī; *kitāb siyar al-mulūk al-furus*, "written or translated" by Muḥammad b. Bahrām b. M-ṭyār-i Iṣfahānī; *kitāb ta'rīkh mulūk banū Sāsān* "written or translated" by Hishām b. Qāsim Iṣfahānī; and finally *kitāb ta'rīkh mulūk banū Sāsān* "edited" by Bahrām b. Mardān Shāh the *uobad* of the province (*wilāya*) of *shāpūr* from the region of Fārs.⁸⁸

In section two of the first chapter, and in continuation, Ḥamza begins by the work of Musā Kasravī.⁸⁹ Kasravī, relates Ḥamza, has testified that he had seen and examined various copies of the *Khawādāy Nāma*, but had not found two similar

⁷⁸ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 69.

⁸⁸ He proceeds to argue in this chapter that according to Abū Ma'shar, the chronologies of the Iranians, the Greeks as well as the Hebrews, have become flawed due to the passage of time. As a result, their calculation of the time that has elapsed from the creation of the world up until the *hijra* has also become flawed. The observations and calculations of the astrologers, have rendered all these other time reckonings obsolete, Ḥamza maintains. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 7-9.

⁸⁹ One of the first translators of Middle Persian sources to Arabic, whose name has also been mentioned in the "Introduction" to the *Shāhnāma-i Abū Maṣṣūrī* as Mūsā 'Isā Khusravī [i.e., Kasravī], as well, as in the introduction to the *Tarjuma-i Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, and *Āthār al-bāqiyya, al-Fihrist* and *Mujmal al-Tawārīkh*. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 14, n. 1.

⁷⁸ Wagner 2007, p. 143a.

⁷⁹ Mittwoch 1942, p. bīst-o-yik.

⁸⁰ Wagner 2007, p. 143a.

⁸¹ Rosenthal 2007, p. 156a.

⁸² Mittwoch 1942, p. hijdah.

⁸³ Mittwoch 1942, p. hijdah.

⁸⁴ Mittwoch 1942, p. hifdah.

⁸⁵ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 89-90.

⁸⁶ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 90. And still other parts to the book of one of the *rāwīs*, and others to another un-named source, *ibid.*, p. 90, 91 respectively.

manuscripts.⁹⁰ In section three, where he elaborates on the same theme, Ḥamza quotes from Bahrām b. Mardān Shāh the *mobad* of the province of Shāpūr of the region of Fārs. The theme of diversity in the various recensions of the *Khwādāy Nāma* manuscripts are reiterated here.⁹¹ Stories put in circulation by story-tellers, provide yet another source for some of the accounts that Ḥamza gives concerning pre-Islamic Iranian kings and Alexander in section four.⁹² Here he also quotes from *Šuwar mulūk banū Sāsān*.⁹³ The Avesta was used by Ḥamza in his "account of the *Khwādāy Nāma* on Creation" in section five.⁹⁴ After giving his account of the Creation based on the Avesta, he observes that he has read different and more detailed versions of this account in other sources.⁹⁵ At the end of the chapter on Iran, Ḥamza concludes by maintaining that this was a summary of the history of Iranian kings, only some of which can be found in various *ta'riḫ* and *siyar* books, the rest being based on "other sources."⁹⁶

Abū Ma'shar's book *Alūf* provides Ḥamza's source for his "account of the kings of Rūm," in chapter two,⁹⁷ while, in chapter three, for his "account of the kings of Constantinople," he gives the first source mentioned prior to this, i.e., a Greek who was in the service of Abū Dulaf. In this last chapter he reiterates that he has also read an account of this history in a book by Wakī', one of the judges (*qāḍīs*) of Baghdad.⁹⁸ Elsewhere Ḥamza maintains

that Wakī' obtained his information on the chronology of the rulers of Rūm from "the history of one of the kings of Rūm translated from Greek into Arabic."⁹⁹ Ḥamza continues to approach his sources critically, for here he observes that that which he has obtained from Wakī' is less trustworthy than that which he has narrated from his own Greek source. Ḥamza's remarkable efforts in gathering and citing his primary sources are underlined, yet again, when he maintains that one of his sources for the calendar of the kings of Greece (*Yūnān*), was a book on the histories of Greece, translated by Ḥabīb b. Bihriz, the leader of the *kāhins* of Mowṣil, which translation he had "read."¹⁰⁰ He could not find the chronology of the Copts, he maintains, in any source except the *Zijs*, in particular the *Zīj* of Nuzayrī.¹⁰¹ Besides Ṣadqiyā, he informs us, he had also used "other" books, including that of F-n-hās b. Bāṭā 'Ibrānī¹⁰² for his account of the history of the Israelites.¹⁰³

It was not only for the chronology of the Persians, the Israelites, the Greeks, the Romans, the Macedonians and the Byzantines, that Ḥamza availed himself of first hand information. He followed this same rigor when writing about the histories and chronologies of Arab kingdoms. For the history of the Lakhmids he used Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb's book *Muḥabbar* and the *Ma'arīf* of Ibn Qutayba.¹⁰⁴ Here he continues to maintain a critical outlook. The sources, un-named, on which he based his own account, he maintains, agree with Ibn Ḥabīb's work, but not with that of Ibn Qutayba.¹⁰⁵ For his account of the kings of Yaman he partly used, it seems, the *akhbār* of Haytham b. 'Adī through Ibn 'Abbās. Here he also credits the narratives of 'Isā b. Dāb,¹⁰⁶ the *rāwīs* of the *akhbār* of Yaman,¹⁰⁷ the books on the histories of Yaman,¹⁰⁸ as well as an inscription in the Ḥumayrī language.¹⁰⁹ For the section on the histories of Kinda he mentions

for his account of the events until 301. Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn al-Nadīm also quote from him. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 69, n. 3.

⁹⁹ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 75.

¹⁰⁰ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 81.

¹⁰¹ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 85.

¹⁰² Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 91.

¹⁰³ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 90-91, 95.

¹⁰⁴ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 103.

¹⁰⁵ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 103.

¹⁰⁶ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 130.

¹⁰⁷ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 132.

¹⁰⁸ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 137.

¹⁰⁹ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 133.

⁹⁰ One chronological calculation of the calendar of Iranian kings from the Pīshdādiyān to the Sāsānids is then provided here. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 13. Almost all of the rest of section two is attributed to Kasravī. Here Kasravī's critical methodology in calculating the calendar of Iranian kings, based on these various manuscripts, and with the aid of Ḥasan b. 'Alī Hamadānī, the accountant (*raqqām*) of Marāgha, is detailed. And yet another detailed list of the chronology of pre-Islamic Iranian kings provided. At the end of this section he takes fault with Kasravī's calculation of the chronology of the Sāsānids. Ibid., p. 13-18.

⁹¹ Bahrām had also seen more than twenty copies of the *Khwādāy Nāma*. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 19.

⁹² Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 40.

⁹³ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 46, 47, 48.

⁹⁴ Here he underlines the fact that he is giving accounts not found in Ibn Muqaffa' or Ibn Jahm. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 61.

⁹⁵ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 61.

⁹⁶ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 40.

⁹⁷ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 67. Also see p. 77.

⁹⁸ As Shi'ar notes this Wakī' was Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Ḥayyān who died in 306 A.H. and from whom Ḥamza quotes

the book "on the history of Kinda."¹¹⁰ For the histories of Ma'ad before the *hijra* he names Wakī', through two different chains of transmission, and Jāhiz,¹¹¹ and for the dates of the *hijra*, the birth of the Prophet and his call to prophethood, he names Ṭabarī's *al-Kitāb al-mudhāyyal*,¹¹² the *Sīra*,¹¹³ the *rāwīs*,¹¹⁴ and Madā'inī.¹¹⁵ Finally in the last chapters of the book,¹¹⁶ he uses narratives from Shādhān b. Baḥr Kirmānī via Abū Ma'shar, his own book, *Kitāb Iṣfahān*, Muḥammad b. Mūsā Khwārazmī's book on history, Ṭabarī, the translation of Abū Ma'shar's book, *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Zij*, and "other figures."¹¹⁷

Based on these sources and in ten chapters that are divided to various subsections, the *Sinī mulūk al-'arḍ* thus gives a synopsis of the histories of the Persians, the Romans, the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Jews, the Lakhmids, the Yaman, the Ḥumayr, the Kinda as well as the Muslims. Here his concern, like Abū Rayhān Bīrūnī (362/973-442/1050) after him — who in fact used Ḥamza's *Sinī* — is with the chronological tables of the nations he examines. The book betrays a refreshing "universal" outlook. What must be underlined, however, is that, in spite of the title of the work, the *Sinī* is predominantly concerned with the chronology of the *kings* of various nations, rather than that of the Prophets. Comparatively, and for obvious reasons — in that there are few prophets with the date of which Ḥamza is concerned — therefore, the latter occupy a small portion of Ḥamza's exposition.¹¹⁸ In the case of the

Islamic calendar, however, it must be emphasized that while Ḥamza includes only a few pages on the chronological accounts concerning the date of the call to prophethood, the *hijra*, and the birth and death of the Prophet and other important dates of early Islamic history, these, together with other comparative chronological indicators that he provides, are quite significant. Their use is therefore crucial in any attempt at a critical investigation of the calendar of early Islamic history.¹¹⁹ Ḥamza

basing themselves on the book of Zoroaster, called the *Avesta*, which is their religious book, believe that it has been 4182 years and 10 months and 19 days from the time of Kayūmarth, the father of man-kind, to the kingship of Yazdgird (III)." Stating that the "accounts of the astrologers renders all these fallacious," Ḥamza then elaborates on this latter account. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 9. A short account is also given on how the exodus of the Israelites with Moses from Egypt took place during the reign of Manūchīhr. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 34.

¹¹⁹ The following are the various chronological indicators that he gives concerning the Islamic calendar: 1) The birth of Prophet Muḥammad took place on the "41st year of the rule of Anūshīrwān." Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 57; 2) The birth of the Prophet took place on the "40th year of the rule of Nōwshīrwān." Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 110; 3) There were 85 Roman kings after Alexander, and up until the *hijra*; 4) "... During the rule of Marqīnūs ... [who ruled] for one year and four months, the call to Prophethood of the messenger of God took place ... Fūqās (Phocas 602-610 C. E.), at the end of whose kingship the *hijra* took place, [ruled] for eight years, [and] during the [combined rule of] Hīrqil (Heraclius 610-641 C. E.) and his son, which lasted for 31 years, the wars against Syria and the death of the Prophet took place..." Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 75-76; 5) The Prophet Muḥammad received his call to Prophethood in the "1st year and sixth month of the kingship of Ayyās b. Qubaysa [the Lakhmid king] (613-618 C.E.), which was equivalent to the 16th, or according to Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, the 20th year of the kingship of Khusrow Parvīz." Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 113-114; 6) The *hijra* of the messenger of God took place "in the 29th, or according to Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, the 33rd year of the kingship of Khusrow Parvīz, 15 years and eight months after the [inception] of the kingship of Dādhūya [, the son of Māhbiyān [sic] b. Mihrānbundād Hamadānī, the Iranian Lakhmid king]... and this was contemporaneous with the fourth year of the kingship of Ardashīr, the son of Shīrīyih." Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 114; 7) The "arrival of Khālīd b. Walīd in Ḥīra took place during Pīrandukht's rule and 12 years after the *hijra* of the messenger of God. Pīrandukht assumed power at the end of the caliphate of Abū Bakr, and ruled for seven months, after the arrival of Khālīd to Ḥīra, three months during the rule of Abū Bakr, and four months during that of 'Umar." Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 115; 8) "The *hijra* took place in the 32nd year of the kingship of Khusrow Parvīz... In the 38th year [of his reign]... Khusrow Parvīz died. The prophet lived for four years after him and his death was contemporaneous with the month in which Yazdgird, the son of Shahriyār, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, assumed the throne." Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 140; 9) The "year of the Elephant," Ḥamza maintains elsewhere, "was the year in which the messenger of God was born. This

¹¹⁰ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 147.

¹¹¹ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 153-154.

¹¹² Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 155.

¹¹³ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 157.

¹¹⁴ In "some of the astrological proofs of the superiority of Islam to other religions and laws," and on "some of the instructive events that have transpired after the *hijra*." Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 159, 160-161, 182.

¹¹⁵ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 160.

¹¹⁶ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 161.

¹¹⁷ Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 175, 176, 177, 178, 179.

¹¹⁸ As we have seen, he devotes a short chapter to the calendar years of the Israelites, based on the Torah. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 89-95. Elsewhere, on the chronology of the world to the beginning of *hijra*, for example, he writes: "There are differences [of opinion] concerning the time period that has elapsed between the creation of the world and the inception of the *hijra*. Based on the accounts of the Torah, the Jews reckon it to be 4042 years and three months. The Christians (*Niṣārī*), [also] basing themselves on the Torah, consider it to be 5990 years and three months. [On the other hand,] the Iranians.

devotes section two of the tenth chapter to the accounts of the day and the month of *hijra* and the birth of the Prophet and his call to prophethood,¹²⁰ and section three of the same chapter to an account of some of the events that took place according to the *hijra* calendar "after the death of the Prophet."

His obsession with pre-Islamic Iran is further underlined in the work under consideration. In the sixth section of the tenth chapter, Ḥamza indulges in an incredible undertaking¹²¹ that, to the author's knowledge, is unprecedented in the accounts of any other historian: viz., in a chart that he provides, he calculates, *year by year*, what he purports to be the exact date, to the day, of the Iranian celebration of the New Year in corresponding *hijra* chronology. Thus he calculates the date of Nowrūz from the year one of *hijra* to the year 350!¹²² It has been observed that this chart is full of mistakes in calculation and seems to have been based on the popular reckonings of the dates of Nowrūz.¹²³ This, however, is yet again a moot issue. For surely it is Ḥamza's obsessive preoccupation with calculating what, to him, was the exact date of Iranian New Year for the *past 350 years*, that deserves notice rather than the

year corresponded to the 34th year of the kingship of Nowshīrwān, the eighth year of the rule of 'Amru b. Hind and the ruler of Rūm, that is Qusṭarīndūs, and forty years before *hijra*. The *hijra* corresponded to the twentieth year, and according to some, the sixteenth year of the kingship of Khusrow Parvīz. The king of Ḥīra during this time was Ayyās b. Qubaysa al-Ṭā'ī, who ruled with the collaboration of the Nakhīrjān ..." Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 152; 10) The "construction of the Ka'ba took place 18 years and eight months after the inception of the rule of Khusrow Parvīz, and according to some, six years ..." Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 153; 11) The birth of the Prophet was during the rule of Qusṭarīndūs. Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 75; 12) The call of Muhammad to Prophethood took place during the rule of Iṣṭifānūs and the *hijra* took place in the ninth year of the rule of Heraclius. Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 69 and 75 respectively; 13) The *hijra* took place towards the end of the rule of Fuqās. Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 75; 14) During the rule of Heraclius the wars of Syria took place and the Prophet died. Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 75; 15) During the rule of Constantine, the son of Heraclius, the murder of 'Uthmān and the Battle of Ṣiffīn took place. Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 75-76.

¹²⁰ Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 155-158.

¹²¹ Ḥamzānī 1969, p. 130-143; Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 166-174.

¹²² Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 165-174. Once again, I am indebted to my friend, Asef Kholdani, for bringing this crucial observation to my attention.

¹²³ Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 233, editor's note, where he refers us to Seyyed Hasan Taqizadeh's remarks in his *Gāhshomārī*.

potential veracity of the tables that he thus prepares.¹²⁴

In the next section on the "noteworthy events that have transpired after the *hijra*,"¹²⁵ Ḥamza gives, at times detailed, reports on the major natural calamities that afflicted the eastern lands, concentrating mostly on those transpiring between 222/837 to 305/918 in general and 291/904-344/956 in Ḥamzānī in particular. Once again, besides his pre-occupation with his native city, his concentration here is predominantly on Iraq and the regions to the east of it, i.e., Baghdad to Sarākh. Here he mentions the terrible famine that engulfed the "two cities" of Ḥamzānī towards the end of 323/935 and the beginning of 324/936,¹²⁶ when "more than 200,000 people lost their lives" in the region.¹²⁷

In the next section on "the rebellions that took place in Baghdad during the 'Abbasid period," Ḥamza details the revolts that took place in the city from 308/921 to 320/932, the bulk of his narratives here being concerned with the rebellions of the Qarāmiṭa.¹²⁸ Ḥamza's *Sinī mulūk al-'arḍ w' al-anbīyā* then ends with two significant sections, one on the "governors of Khurāsān,"¹²⁹ and the other on the "rulers of Ṭabaristān."¹³⁰ In the introduction to the first section he provides a justification for selecting these two regions from the midst of all the others. "I have included the history of these two regions from amongst all other regions in this book," he explains, on account of the fact, that it were "the people of Khurāsān and Ṭabaristān who, under the

¹²⁴ His obsession with the Iranian calendar is also reflected in the fact that at times he insists on calculating events also on the basis of this calendar. In the section on "some of the remarkable events that have occurred after the *hijra*," therefore, when he is describing the storm that engulfed Ḥamzānī in 344 A.H., he gives the Iranian calendar as well. Thus, he maintains, for example, that the "next day, that is the night of the day of *Ashtād*, a lightening appeared from the horizon on the west ... and in the morning thereafter, that is on the day of *Āsmān* ... the river was filled with water ..." Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 181.

¹²⁵ Ḥamzānī 1969, p. 144-147; Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 175-178.

¹²⁶ Amongst these, once again, he lists the "blanket of snow" that covered Ḥamzānī on the morning of Nowrūz. Ḥamzānī 1969, p. 147-148; Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 179-180.

¹²⁷ Ḥamzānī 1969, p. 147; Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 179.

¹²⁸ Ḥamzānī 1969, p. 152-159; Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 185-196.

¹²⁹ Ḥamzānī 1969, p. 160-172; Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 197-213.

¹³⁰ Ḥamzānī 1969, p. 173-176; Ḥamzānī 1988, p. 214-218.

lership of two valiant figures, Abū Muslim and ʿIḥḥayn b. Būya, revolted against the Banī ayyah”!¹³¹ The Buyids, we realize, of course, er revolted against the Umayyads, but the basids. Ḥamza, however, is couching his lanation in such patently ahistorical terms, it ns, because he is in fact echoing the Messianic ectations of the end of the Arab rule circulating ngst his contemporary Iranians. That subsequent he ʿAbbasid revolution and contemporaneous 1 the Buyid rise to power — that is, precisely ng Ḥamza’s life-time — such expectations were fact clearly circulating and very popular, is ighted by Bīrūnī.¹³² The pre-occupation of nza with popular sentiments that articulated the of Arab rule,¹³³ and his obsession with the Arab us Persian ethnos, are in fact further underlined he anecdotal narrative with which he chooses to imence his section on the governors of aristan. The Iranians, he maintains here, sider the Daylam, the Kurds of Ṭabaristān,” as Arabs consider the population of Iraq as the ds of Suristān.”¹³⁴ ʿAlī b. Hishām narrates from im b. Sulaymān Nīshābūrī that Muʿādh b. slim had told the latter that when caliph Maṣṣūr returning from Nīshāpūr and reached the intains of Ṭabaristān, he asked Muʿādh the name he mountains. The latter informed Maṣṣūr that are called the mountains of Ṭabaristān. At this it, Ḥamza narrates, Maṣṣūr became disturbed

and said : “The Banī ʿAbbās shall continue to rule until ... such a time that an Arab takes over the rule of the territories beyond these mountains, a rule whose pillars would, nevertheless, be the ʿajam of these regions. At this juncture however, Arab rule will be transferred to the Iranians and government will be taken over by a group of Iranians. The Banī ʿAbbās, Muʿādh had continued for Maṣṣūr, will at this point come under their control.” It was as a result of this, Ḥamza maintains, that a few years later, in 144 Maṣṣūr ordered Abūʿl Khaṣīb to conquer Ṭabaristān. For Maṣṣūr, Ḥamza maintains, was afraid of such prognostications and thus occupied himself with the affairs of Ṭabaristān until he took over sovereignty from Ispahbud Khurshīd b. Dād Burzmīhr b. Farrukhān.¹³⁵ This then was an attempt to put, to the extent possible, Ḥamza and his work, the *Sinī mulūk al-ʿarḍ wʾ al-anbiyā* in their proper context. To the Sāsānid historical geography contained in the *Histories of the Kings and the Prophets* we now return.

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE SĀSĀNIDS IN
SINĪ MULŪK AL-ʿARḌ Wʾ AL-ANBIYĀ

A

- Abarshahr (*wilāya*) : qv Nīshāpūr.
- Abkhāz (*rūstā*) : qv Āzarmīdukht.
- Ādhar Shāpūr : qv Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird.
- Ādharbād : qv Shāpūr Dhuʿl-aktāf.
- Ādharmāhān-i Işfahānī : qv Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird.
- Afrūdshāh, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih : qv Shīrūyih.
- ʿA-k-b-rā or Buzurj Shāpūr : qv Shāpūr Dhuʿl-aktāf.
- Alān (or Arrān) : qv Khusrow Anūshīrwān.
- Alān Shāh : qv Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

¹ Işfahānī 1969, p. 160 ; Işfahānī 1988, p. 197.
² Commenting on the messianic hopes of the Iranians, nī maintains : They have hoped that during the rule of the amites “kingship will return to the Persians...” I don’t v, however, Bīrūnī objects, “based on what they have en the rule of the Daylamites,” for astrological signs rather :ate that such a change should transpire during the āsid rule, which is a Khurāsānī and eastern government. so, it is clear, however, Bīrūnī continues, that “neither the ʿAbbās nor the Āl-i Būya, were capable of reviving an rule and reestablishing their religion. Bīrūnī, 1984, p.
³ Ḥamza’s chapter on the “astrological reasons for the riority of Islam to other religions,” for example, is quite an valent chapter that needs to be examined by one familiar medieval astrology and astronomy. Sufficient to say here Hamza here brings evidence that the “rule of the Arabs begin to deteriorate from the [events that transpire] in the.” Işfahānī 1969, p. 126-127 ; p. 161-163.
⁴ Işfahānī 1969, p. 174 ; Işfahānī 1988, p. 214. For ān, see Ṭabarī 1999, p. 14 and n. 57 and the sources cited in.

¹³⁵ Işfahānī 1969, p.173-174 ; Işfahānī 1988, p. 214-215.

Alexandria : Amongst the stories that story-tellers have concocted is that Alexander constructed 12 cities in Iran and called all of them Alexandria. These are said to have included cities in Iṣfahān, Herāt, Marv, Samarqand, Sughd, Babylon and Meysān and four cities in the Sawād of Iraq. But this news is not trustworthy for Alexander was a destroyer and not a constructor. *Sinī*, p. 40 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 40.

a'māl, or *Šamal* : *Sinī*, p. 35 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 35.

Anārbār (*rūstā*) : *qv* Iṣfahān 3 ; Anārbār is located in Iṣfahān. In the *qarīya* of M-m-nūr of the village (*rūstā*) of Anārbār, Gushasb built a fire-temple. *Sinī*, p. 37 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 37.

Anbār : *qv* Fīrūz-Shāpūr.

Anṭākiyya (Antioch) : *qv* Rūm 6 ; *qv* Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr ; *qv* Bih-az-Andīv Khusrow ; *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān ; Anṭākiyya was the city constructed by the Roman king Anṭīkhus (Antiochus), the third king after Alexander. *Sinī*, p. 40-41 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 41-42.

'Aqraqūf : *qv* Babylonia or Bābil ; *Sinī*, p. 35 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 35.

Ardashīr Abād (or H-māniyā) : *qv* Zāb 2 ; Ardashīr Abād was the name of the city constructed by Kay Ardashīr on the Upper Zāb. *Sinī*, p. 37 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 37.

Ardashīr Khurra : Ardashīr constructed many cities : amongst these were Ardashīr Khurra, Bih Ardashīr, Bahman Ardashīr, Ashā' Ardashīr (or Inshā' Ardashīr), Rām Ardashīr, Rām Hormozd Ardashīr, Hormozd Ardashīr, Būd Ardashīr, Vahsht Ardashīr and Bitan Ardashīr. Ardashīr Khurra is the same as Fīrūz Ābād in Fārs (*qv* Fārs) which used to be called Gūr and, on the orders of 'Alī b. Būya, was renamed Fīrūz Ābād. Gūr and Gār both mean a pit or a ditch and not a tomb or a niche, for the Iranians had no tombs and used to hide their dead in crypts (*dakhmih*) and carved stones. *Sinī*, p. 43 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 44.

Ardashīrakān (river of) : *qv* Iṣfahān 6.

Ardistān (*qarīya*) : *qv* Iṣfahān 4 ; Ardistān is a *qarīya* in Iṣfahān where Kay Ardashīr constructed

the fire temple of Mihr Ardashīr. *Sinī*, p. 37 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

Arrajān (or Bih-az-Āmid-Kavād) : *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz.

Arrān (or Alān) : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Ashā' Ardashīr (or Inshā' Ardashīr) : *qv* Ardashīr Khurra ; Ashā' Ardashīr is the name of a city next to the Dajl which is also called Karkh-i Meysān. *Sinī*, p. 43 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 45.

Azān : *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf.

Āzarbayjān : *qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird ; *qv* India ; *qv* Yazdgird III ; *qv* Khurrazād b. Khurra Hofmōzd ; 1) Zoroaster, who had risen from Āzarbayjān, went to Kay Gushtāsb in the thirtieth year of the latter's rule when the king was fifty years old. Gushtāsb accepted Zoroaster's religion. The king then sent a group of people to Rūm in order to invite the Romans to the religion of Zoroaster. On account of the peace treaty that they had formed with Fereydūn, based on which they had been free to choose their own religion, however, the people of Rūm did not accept the invitation. So he [i.e., the king] left them in peace in order to abide by their [previous] contract. *Sinī*, p. 37 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 37 ; 2) Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird, constructed a city in the region (*nawāhī*) of Āzarbayjān. *Sinī*, p. 50 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 53.

Āzarmīdukht, the daughter of Khusrow Parvīz : In the village (*dih*) of Q-r-ṭ-mān of the *rūstā* of Abkhāz, Āzarmīdukht constructed a fire-temple. *Sinī*, p. 54 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 59.

Āzarmīdukht, the daughter of Khusrow Parvīz : *qv* Āzarmīdukht.

B

Bāb al-Abvāb (or the dam of Darband) : Bāb al-Abvāb was the dam constructed by Khusrow Anūshīrwān with a distance of approximately 20 *farsakhs* from the sea to the mountains. *Sinī*, p. 51 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 55.

Babylonia or Bābil : *qv* Zībāvand (Zīnāvand) Ṭahmūrath-i ; *qv* Kāshghar ; *qv* Alexandria ; 1) Alexander conquered Babylonia. *Sinī*, p. 24 ; *Tārīkh*,

p. 17. Upon his conquest he destroyed the city, transforming it into a pile of dirt. *Sinī*, p. 39; *Tārīkh*, p. 40; 2) The seat of Fereydūn was in Bābil. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 34; 3) Key Kāvūs constructed a very tall and lofty building in Babylonia. I suspect that this is the same as the building of 'A-q-r-qūf, which is behind Baghdad and is one of the newest constructions in the world. According to some of the *rāwīs* this building is called Şarḥ. If this were true, there would be two words for palace in the languages of the Nabateans of Iraq and the Jarāmiqih of Syria respectively: *şarḥan*, and *ma'dalan*, which have been Arabized as Şarḥ and Ma'dal. *Sinī*, p. 36; *Tārīkh*, p. 35.

Bādiyya: 1) A region close to which the Şābeans¹³⁶ live. *Sinī*, p. 32; *Tārīkh*, p. 31; 2) When Khusrow Parvīz became angry with Nu'mān b. Mundhir, he recalled him from Bādiyya. *Sinī*, p. 53; *Tārīkh*, p. 58; 3) Fanābarzīn b. V-hūn-k-hān had the governorship of the regions connected to the *rīff* of Bādiyya, from the borders of Ḥīra to the borders of Bahrayn. *Sinī*, p. 115; *Tārīkh*, p. 141.

Baghdad: *qv* Babylonia or Bābil 3; *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz; *Sinī*, p. 35, 55; *Tārīkh*.

Bahman Ardashīr: *qv* Ardashīr Khurra; Bahman Ardashīr is the name of a city on the coast of Dijlat al-'Owrā in the region of Meysān. The Baṣrans call it under the two names of Bahmanshīr or Furāt-i Meysān. *Sinī*, p. 43; *Tārīkh*, p. 45.

Bahmanshīr: *qv* Bahman Ardashīr.

Bahrām b. Mardānshāh: the *mobad* of the region of Shāpūr in the province of Fārs. *Sinī*, p. 26; *Tārīkh*, p. 19.

Bahrām-i Gūr, the son of Yazdgird: Bahrām Gūr the son of Yazdgird has many constructions in the lands of the Turks and in Rūm (*qv* Rūm) and India (Hind). *Sinī*, p. 49; *Tārīkh*, p. 52. In disguise, Bahrām [once] went to India. He ordered the population [of Iran] to work for half of the day and spend the rest in comfort, eating, drinking and entertaining themselves. He asked them not to drink

and engage in entertainment without the presence of minstrels and entertainers (*al-ḥawāshiyya w' al-'akā'il*).¹³⁷ For this reason the price of [hiring] the minstrels rose, each performance (*dast*)¹³⁸ costing a hundred *dirhams*. *Sinī*, p. 49; *Tārīkh*, p. 52. One day he saw a group of people not engaged in merriment. He asked: Have I not forbid you from not entertaining yourselves? They replied that they couldn't find any for less than a hundred *dirhams*. Bahrām then wrote to the king of India and asked for minstrels from him. The latter sent 12,000 to him. Bahrām sent these to various cities and regions of his realm. Producing offspring, the number of these increased. A small number of these still remain. They are called the *zūf*. *Sinī*, p. 49; *Tārīkh*, p. 52-53.

Bahrayn: *qv* Bādiyya; *qv* Bitan Ardashīr.

Bahrusīr: *qv* Bih Ardashīr.

Balkh: 1) Balkh was the seat of Key Kāvūs. *Sinī*, p. 35, 36; *Tārīkh*, p. 35, 36; 2) Humāy or Shemīrān, the daughter of Bahman, had her seat in Balkh. *Sinī*, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

Bardshīr (Bardsīr): *qv* Bih Ardashīr.

barīd: Dārā, the son of Bahman, was the first king⁶ to construct roads for beasts of burden and use horses whose tails had been cut off for the purpose. They called these cut-tail (*burīd dum*). Becoming Arabized, the second part of the word was deleted and shortened to *barīd*. *Sinī*, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 39.

Baṣra: The city that Kay Ardashīr constructed in Meysān and called Bahman Ardashīr, was known as the Tigris of Baṣra. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

Bāsh-r-vān or Bāj-r-vān: *qv* Rūm 1.

Beyt al-Muqaddas: *qv* Jerusalem.

B-gh-rān Shāh: *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Bih Ardashīr: *qv* Ardashīr Khurra; Bih Ardashīr is the name of two cities, one in Iraq and the other in Kirmān. The first is one of the seven cities of

¹³⁶ According to Hamza the Şābeans were a Christian sect who differed from the majority of Christians in their particular beliefs, and were considered innovators. İsfahānī 1988, p. 31.

¹³⁷ According to the editor, Bahar translated *al-ḥawāshiyya* as *khunyāgarān* and considered 'akā'il to be a copier's error for *kāwalyān* (the kowls?). See İsfahānī 1988, p. 52, n. 52.

¹³⁸ See İsfahānī 1988, p. 52, n. 4.

Madāyin (*qv* Madā'in) and is on the western [eoast] of the Tigris. It is called Bahrusir in Arabic. The other is Bih Ardashir of Kirmān which has been called Bardshir (Bardsir) in Arabic. *Sinī*, p. 43; *Tārīkh*, p. 45.

Bih-az-Āmid-Kavād (or Arrajān) : *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz.

Bih-az-Andīv Khusrow : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr : *qv* Shāpūr, the son of Ardashir; Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr is one of the cities of Khuzistān. Its etymology in Persian is *bih*, meaning better, and thus as a whole the word means "a city better than Antioch." The design of this city is like a chess-board for within it eight roads intersect eight others. In ancient times they used to base the design of the cities on the model of things (*ashyā'*) [sic?]. For example the design of the city of Shūsh (Sūs) (*qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf) is like that of a hawk and the city of Shūshtar is like that of a horse. *Sinī*, p. 45; *Tārīkh*, p. 47.

Bilāsh, the son of Fīrūz : Bilāsh, the son of Fīrūz, constructed two cities, one in the Sābāt of Madā'in and the other next to Hūlwān, called Bilāshghar. *Sinī*, p. 50; *Tārīkh*, p. 54.

Bilāshghar : *qv* Bilāsh; Bilāshghar is a city constructed by Bilāsh, the son of Fīrūz, next to Hūlwān. *Sinī*, p. 50; *Tārīkh*, p. 54.

Bilāsh-Shāpūr : *qv* Shāpūr, the son of Ardashir.

Bīshāpūr : *qv* Shāpūr, the son of Ardashir; Bīshāpūr is one of the cities of Fārs. It is also the name of the *wilāya*. They shorten it in Arabic and call it Sābūr. Shāpūr constructed this city in lieu of the city constructed by Tahmūrath and destroyed by Alexander. Its original name has been forgotten. *Sinī*, p. 44; *Tārīkh*, p. 47.

Bitan Ardashir (or Tan Ardashir) : *qv* Ardashir Khurra; Bitan Ardashir is one of the cities of Bahrayn. It is so called because Ardashir constructed the walls (*bārū*) of the city on top of the bodies of its population who had disobeyed him — laying one row of bodies and one row of mud alternatively. It is as a result of this that it is called Tan Ardashir. *Sinī*, p. 44; *Tārīkh*, p. 45-46.

Bīwarasb : Bīwarasb lived in Babylon (*qv* Babylon). There he constructed a house in the shape of a crane (*kurkī*).¹³⁹ *Sinī*, p. 33; *Tārīkh*, p. 32.

Bridge of Jamshīd : Constructed by Jamshīd over the Tigris river, the Bridge of Jamshīd is one of the remarkable works of this Pīshdādī king. The bridge lasted for a long while before being destroyed by Alexander. Other kings tried to reconstruct it unsuccessfully. Later the base of the bridge was used for constructing another bridge on it. The remnants of the Bridge of Jamshīd are still visible in the western entrance (*ma'bar*) to the two cities of Madā'in (Ctesiphon). When the waters of the Tigris go down the sailors can pass through there. *Sinī*, p. 32; *Tārīkh*, p. 32.

Bridge over the Tigris : *qv* Bridge of Jamshīd.

Būd Ardashir : *qv* Ardashir Khurra; Būd Ardashir is a city in Mowşil. *Sinī*, p. 44; *Tārīkh*, p. 45.

Būrāndukht, the daughter of Khusrow Parvīz : It was Būrāndukht who returned the cross to the Catholicos (Jāthalīq). *Sinī*, p. 54; *Tārīkh*, p. 59.

Buzurj Shāpūr or 'A-k-b-rā : *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf.

C

Catholicos (or Jāthalīq) : *qv* Būrāndukht.

China (al-Şīn) : When dividing his realm amongst his three sons, Fereydūn gave Tibet, China, as well as the eastern regions (*bilād-i sharghī*) to his son Tūj [sic]. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 33.

Constantinople : When they informed Bilāsh, the son of Khusrow, that the Romans are preparing to attack Iran, he wrote to the neighboring *mulūk al-tawā'if* (*qv* *mulūk al-tawā'if*) and asked for their aid. Based on their powers and resources, each king then sent him wealth and men. When Bilāsh became powerful [as a result], he gave the command of the army to Şāhib al-Khizr, one of the *mulūk al-tawā'if*, whose territory was close to Rūm. The latter fought the Roman army, killed their king, and returned with

¹³⁹ The Persian translation has (*murgh*) for (*kurkī*) by mistake.

the booty to Iraq (*qv* Iraq) where he gave one-fifth of it to Bilāsh. This war forced the Romans to build a [new] well-built city and transfer their capital to it, so that they might be close to Iranian territories. This city became Constantinople. They constructed the city and made it their capital. The king of Rūm at this point was Qusṭantīn, the son of Nīrūn. They therefore called the city Constantinople. Constantine was the first king who accepted Christianity and called his people to it. He then set out against the Children of Israel and drove them out of Jerusalem. Up to this day the Jews have not regained control of it. *Sinī*, p. 41; *Tārīkh*, p. 42-43.

Ctesiphon : *qv* Madā'in.

D

Dam of Darband (or Bāb al-Abvāb) : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Dārā, the son Dārā : During Dārā's kingship Alexander rose in the west. Up to this time the people of the west, from the Copts to the Berbers, as well as the population of Northern Rūm, the Ṣaqālība (Slavs), that of Syria and Palestine, i.e., the Jarmaqs and the Jarjams, were generally the taxpayers of Iran. When Alexander became king and the officials of Dārā went to him to collect the taxes, he told these to relay to Dārā that the hens which hatched these eggs are no longer laying eggs. This was the cause of the war between Dārā and Alexander where Dārā was killed. *Sinī*, p. 38-39; *Tārīkh*, p. 39.

Dārā-ān (Dāriyān) : *qv* Nasibine; Dārā-ān was the city that Dārā constructed to the North of Nasibine. *Sinī*, p. 39; *Tārīkh*, p. 39.

✓ Dārābjird (in Fārs) : *qv* Rūm 5; *qv* Fārs 1; *qv* Rām Vishnāsqān (Rām Vishtāspān); *qv* 'āmil (of Fārs); 1) Dārābjird, which means the city of Dārā, was constructed in one of the *wilāyas* of Fārs by Dārā the son of Bahman. Prior to this it was called Ustān Farkān ¹⁴⁰ [sic] (or Aspānvar?). *Sinī*, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 39; 2) Gushtāsb built a triangular city in the *wilāya* of Dārābjird and called it Rām

Vishnāsqān (Rām Vishtāspān). This is the same as the city of Fasā. Later, a native of the region called Āzādmard Kāmgar, who was the governor ('āmil) of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in Fārs, turned the wall (*bārū*) of Dārābjird into a circular wall. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 37.

Darak (*qarīya*) : *qv* Işfahān 4; Darak is a *qarīya* in the *rūstā* of Khwār in Işfahān where Kay Ardashīr constructed the fire temple of Zurvān Ardashīr. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

Darband : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Dastbey (or Dashtbey) : *qv* Rūm 1.

Desert of Tiyya : *qv* Egypt 2; When Moses brought the Children of Israel out of Egypt, he stayed in the desert of Tiyya for 40 years during which time he managed their affairs. He wrote the Torah in the same place for them. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 34.

✓ diḥ : *qv* Hīrvān (or Jīrvān); *qv* Q-r-ṭ-mān.

D-s-k-r-t al-Malik : *qv* Hormozd, the son of Shāpūr; D-s-k-r-t al-Malik was constructed by Hormozd the son of Shāpūr. *Sinī*, p. 45; *Tārīkh*, p. 47.

E

Egypt : *qv* Mişr. *Sinī*, p. 33, 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 33, 34.

Ethiopia (or Ḥabashih) : *qv* Yemen.

Euphrates : Manūchihr opened up the river Euphrates as well as the river Mihrān, which is bigger than the Euphrates. He also dug great canals from the Tigris and Euphrates. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 34.

F

Farāt-i Meysān (or the Tigris of Başra) : *qv* Bahman Ardashīr.

Fārs : *qv* Bahrām b. Mardānshāh; *qv* Shāpūr (*wilāya* of); *qv* Dārābjird; *qv* Iştakhr; *qv* Kūshīd mountain; *qv* Ardashīr Khurra; *qv* Rām Vishnāsqān (Rām Vishtāspān or Fasā); *qv* 'āmil (of Fārs); *qv* Bīshāpūr; In one of the *wilāyas* of Fārs, Dārā, the

¹⁴⁰ The editor notes that according to Bahar Aspānvar was also one of the quarters of Ctesiphon. Işfahānī 1988, p. 39, n. 2.

son of Bahman, constructed a city which he called Dārābjird, which means the city of Dārā. Prior to this it was called Ustān Farkān ¹⁴¹ [sic] (or Aspānvar?). *Sinī*, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 39.

Fasā (or Rām Vishtāspān): *qv* Dārābjird (in Fārs); *qv* Rām Vishnāsqān (Rām Vishtāspān).

Fīlān Shāh: *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Fire of Kūshīd: *qv* Kūshīd mountain; The fire constructed by Kay Khusrow atop of the Kūshīd mountain after he killed the dragon. *Sinī*, p. 36; *Tārīkh*, p. 36.

Fīrūz Ābād: *qv* Ardashīr Khurra.

Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird: Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird, constructed two cities, one in India and the other close to this region. He called these, after himself, Rām Fīrūz and Rowshī (Rowshan) Fīrūz. He also constructed a city each in the regions of Rayy, Gurgān and Āzarbayjān. He constructed a wall between Transoxiana and Irānshahr. And he completed the wall of the city of Jayy. He closed the gates of the city of Jayy through the efforts of Ādhar Shāpūr, the son of Ādharmāhān-i Iṣfahānī. *Sinī*, p. 50; *Tārīkh*, p. 53-54. He gave the *siḡil* (peace agreement) of the city named Ḥ-f-n-h ¹⁴² to the latter. By his orders, half of the Jewish population of Iṣfahān were killed. And their children were taken as slaves (*barda*) to the fire-temple of Sorūsh Ādharān (*qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf) which is located in the *qarīya* of Ḥīrvān (or Jīrvān, *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf). It was in this same *qarīya* that Fīrūz skinned two of the *hirbads* and sewing their skins together, had them used in the tanning industry. *Sinī*, p. 50; *Tārīkh*, p. 53-54.

Fīrūzānshāh, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih: *qv* Shīrūyih.

Fīrūz-Shāpūr: *qv* Shāpūr, the son of Ardashīr; Fīrūz-Shāpūr is one of the cities of Iraq which is called Anbār in Arabic. *Sinī*, p. 45; *Tārīkh*, p. 47.

G

Gar: *qv* Sakān Shah.

Gundīshāpūr: *qv* Rūm 8; Once Mānī was killed by the orders of Bahrām, the son of Hormozd, he was skinned. His skin was then filled with straw and hung from one of the gates of Gundīshāpūr. *Sinī*, p. 46; *Tārīkh*, p. 48.

Gurgān (Jurjān): Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird constructed a city in the region (*nawāḥī*) of Gurgān. *Sinī*, p. 50; *Tārīkh*, p. 53.

H

Ḥabashih (or Ethiopia): *qv* Yemen.

Ḥadīthih: *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf.

Haft Iqlīm ('*aqālīm saba'a*): Ṭahmūrath ruled the *haft iqlīm* for 30 years, Jam ruled it for 616 years, and Bīwarasp ruled it for a 1000 years. *Sinī*, p. 27; *Tārīkh*, p. 20.

Herāt: *qv* Alexandria.

Ḥ-f-n-h: *qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird.

Hirbad: *qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird.

Ḥīrvān (or Jīrvān, village of): *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf; *qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird.

H-māniyā (or Ardashīr Abād): H-māniyā is the city constructed by Kay Ardashīr on the banks of the Upper Zāb river. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 37.

H-n-bū Shāpūr (or Kh-n-b Shāpūr): *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz; H-n-bū Shāpūr is a city near Madā'in. *Sinī*, p. 50-51; *Tārīkh*, p. 54-55.

Hormozd Ardashīr: *qv* Ardashīr Khurra; Hormozd Ardashīr is the name of two cities which Ardashīr named after his own name and that of the all-Mighty God [i.e., Ohrmozd], when he was setting up their boundaries. In one of these he settled the traders and in the other the elite and nobility. The city of the traders also got another name, Hūjīstān-i Wājār?, which, once Arabized, became Sūq al-Aḥvāz. The city of the elite came to be called H-r-mshīr. When the Arabs came to Khuzistān, they destroyed this city of the nobility. But the city of the traders remained. Then, after the wars of Ḥajjāj with

¹⁴¹ The editor notes that according to Bahar, Aspānvar was also one of the quarters of Ctesiphon. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 39, n. 2.

¹⁴² The meaning of this sentence is not clear to the author.

the *qurā*, two of the other cities of Khuzistān, one called Rustam Kavād, which in Arabic became R-sīqābād, and the other Jūāstād [?], were also destroyed. *Sinī*, p. 43; *Tārīkh*, p. 45.

Hormozd, the son of Shāpūr: One of his deeds was the construction of *D-s-k-r-t al-Malik*. *Sinī*, p. 45; *Tārīkh*, p. 47.

H-r-mshīr: *qv* Hormozd Ardashīr.

Hūjistān-i Wājār? (or Sūq al-Aḥvāz): *qv* Hormozd Ardashīr.

Hulwān: *qv* Bilāsh, son of Fīrūz; *qv* Kavād, son of Fīrūz.

Hunīrih (Khūnīras) *Iqīm-i*: Fereydūn ruled over Hunīrih (Khūnīras) for 500 years. *Sinī*, p. 27; *Tārīkh*, p. 20.

I

India: *qv* Bahrām-i Gūr, the son of Yazdgird; 1) Fereydūn gave Iraj, his youngest son, Iraq, the western regions and India. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 33; 2) Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird, constructed two cities, one in India and the other close to it. He called these, after himself, Rām Fīrūz and Rowshī (Rowshan) Fīrūz. He also constructed a city each in the regions of Rayy, Gurgān and Āzarbayjān. He constructed a wall between Transoxiana and Irānshahr. And he completed the wall of the city of Jayy. *Sinī*, p. 50; *Tārīkh*, p. 53.

Iraq: *qv* Alexandria; *qv* India; *qv* Babylonia 3; *qv* *mulūk al-tawā'if*; *qv* Constantinople; *qv* Kavād; *qv* Yazdgird III; *qv* Rum; *qv* Sawād; *qv* River of Iraq (or River of the King); *qv* Bih Ardashīr; *qv* Īzād-Kavād; *qv* Fīrūz-Shāpūr (or Anbār); 1) While dividing his realm amongst his three sons, Salm, Tūj and Iraj, Fereydūn gave Iraj, his youngest son, Iraq, and the western regions and India. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 33, 35; 2) The Roman Emperor Julianus II "the Apostate" (r. 361-363), who left Christianity and returned to idol worship, attacked Iraq and was killed there. Shāpūr appointed one of the generals of the Roman army, called Būniyānūs, who was a Christian, to the governorship of Rūm. The latter returned the Romans to their own land. *Sinī*, p. 66; *Tārīkh*, p. 73.

Irān vathārath Kavād¹⁴³: During Kay Kavād's reign Işfahān, like Rayy, had one *wilāya* (*kūra*). Key Kavād added another *wilāya* and called it Irān-vathārath-Kavād. In this same *wilāya*, during the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, there was a *rūstā* that connected it to the territories (*a'māl*) of Qum. *Sinī*, p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 35.

Irānshahr: *Sinī*, p. 43, 50; *Tārīkh*, p. 44, 53.

Irān-shād-Kavād: Kavād, son of Fīrūz, built a number of cities, amongst them Irān-shād-Kavād. *Sinī*, p. 51; *Tārīkh*, p. 54.

Iştakhr: *qv* Rūm 5; The first Iranian king Hūshang-i Pīshdādī, Pīshdād meaning the first ruler, was enthroned in Iştakhr. It is on account of this that Iştakhr is called "the abode of the king" (*būm-i shāh*). The Iranians believe that both Hūshang as well as his brother Vīk-r-t are prophets. *Sinī*, p. 31; *Tārīkh*, p. 30. The first undertaking of Ardashīr, the son of Bābāk, was the conquest of Iştakhr. Then, with the aid of the population¹⁴⁴ of Iştakhr, he took control of some other provinces of Iran that had been under the control of the *mulūk al-tawā'if* (*qv* *mulūk al-tawā'if*) and crowned himself king. He then realized, however, that surrounding him were many petty rulers whose government was being sustained on the shoulders of their cultivators, and that the population of these regions, while agreeing on the fundamentals of their religion, [otherwise] differed from each other. *Sinī*, p. 42; *Tārīkh*, p. 43.

Işfahān: *qv* Kūshīd mountain; *qv* Irān vathārath Kavād; *qv* Alexandria; *qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird; *qv* Yazdgird III; 1) Ṭahmūrath built two great constructions called Mihrīn and Sārūya in Işfahān. Mihrīn then became the name of a village (*rūstā*) which was called Kūk and was located below it. After thousands of years the wall (*bārū*) of the city of Jayy enclosed Sārūya. The remains of both of these, i.e., Mihrīn and Sārūya, still stand. *Sinī*, p. 31; *Tārīkh*, p. 31; 2) During the rule of the Kayanid king Key Kavād, people started cultivating the lands. Key Kavād used to collect 1/10th (*'ushr*)¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Gyselen 1982.

¹⁴⁴ Generally referring to the elite of a region by medieval historians, in this case, presumably, the military elite.

¹⁴⁵ Here, once again, we are most probably dealing with the Ctesian method whereby the measure taken by the Sāsānid

[of the produce] and expend it on the army and protecting the frontiers. *Sinī*, p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 35; 3) Gushtāsb built a fire-temple in the *qarīya* of M-m-nūr of the village (*rūstā*) of Anārbār which is located in Iṣfahān. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 37; 4) In one day [Kay] Ardashīr constructed three fire temples in Iṣfahān. One was built when the sun was rising. The other at noon when the sun is in the center of the skies and a third at sunset. The first, called Shahr Ardashīr — for Shahr means evening twilight, and Ardashīr is the name of Bahman (himself) — was located next to the fortress of Mārīn. The second, called Zurvān Ardashīr, was located in the *qarīya* of Dārak in the *rūstā* of Khwār, and the third was the fire temple of Mihr Ardashīr and was located in the *qarīya* of Ardistān. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 38; 5) Hūmāy constructed a beautiful city in Iṣfahān in a *rūstā* known as Taymariḥ and called it Khumīhan. The city was destroyed by Alexander. *Sinī*, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 38; 6) Ardashīr had Mihr b. Vardān divide the waters of Iṣfahān. Ardashīr also divided the waters of Khuziṣtān. And created rivers from these. Amongst these latter was the river of M-sh-r-qān or M-s-r-qān which in Persian is called Ardashīrakān. *Sinī*, p. 44; *Tārīkh*, p. 46.

Īzād-Kavād (a city in the Sawād of Iraq): *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz.

J

Jājāh (*qarīya*): *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf.

Jājān: *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz.

Jāthalīq (or Catholicos): *qv* Būrāndukht.

Javānshīr, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih: *qv* Shīrūyih.

Jayy (*rūstā*): *qv* Iṣfahān; *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf; *qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird.

Jerusalem: *qv* The city of the Jews; *qv* Rūm 7; *qv* Constantinople; *qv* Khusrow Parvīz 2; 1) Jerusalem was destroyed by Bukht al-Naṣr during the rule of Luhrāsb. Bukht al-Naṣr took the population to the eastern regions in slavery and divided them amongst different cities. *Sinī*, p. 33,

king Kavād has been anachronistically superimposed onto the Kayanid king, Key Kavād.

77-82; *Tārīkh*, p. 33, 94; 2) Gūdarz, the son of Arsaces, destroyed Jerusalem twice and slaughtered some of its population and took others into captivity. *Sinī*, p. 41; *Tārīkh*, p. 42.

Jurjān: *qv* Gurgān.

Jūāstād: *qv* Hormozd Ardashīr.

K

Karkh-i Meysān: *qv* Ashā' Ardashīr (or Inshā' Ardashīr).

Kāshghar: After Alexander conquered Iran, he reached Kāshghar. He stayed there for a while after which, intending to return, he set out towards Babylon. Once he reached Qūmis, he fell ill and on his way to Babylon his illness increased. He died before reaching the city. *Sinī*, p. 39; *Tārīkh*, p. 40.

Kavād, the son of Fīrūz: Kavād constructed a number of cities. One, between Hulwān (*qv* Bilāsh) and Shahrzūr, he called Irān-shād-Kavād. A second city between Jājān (Jurjān) and Abarshahr (*qv* Nīshāpūr), he called Shahr-ābād-Kavād. A third city in Fārs he called Bih-az-Āmid-Kavād. This is the same as Arrajān. He also established a *wilāya* in this city. He constructed a city near Madā'in and called it H-n-bū Shāpūr. The population of Baghdad calls it Kh-n.b Shāpūr. Yet another city that he constructed was called Vilāshjird (or Vilāshgard), and another, next to Mowṣil, was called Khābūr Kavād. He also built a city in Sawād, the *rūstā*, of Iraq, called Īzād-Kavād. He made Ḥārith b. 'Amru b. Ḥajar-i Kindī the king of the Arabs. *Sinī*, p. 50-51; *Tārīkh*, p. 54-55.

Khābūr Kavād: *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz.

Khumīhan: *qv* Iṣfahān 5; The city of Khumīhan was constructed by Humāy, the daughter of Bahman, in the *rūstā* of Taymariḥ in Iṣfahān. The city was destroyed by Alexander. *Sinī*, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

Khurra Shāpūr: *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf.

Khurrah, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih: *qv* Shīrūyih.

Khurrazād b. Khurra Hormozd (the brother of Rustam): *qv* Yazdgird III; Khurrazād b. Khurra

Hormozd forced Yazdgird to relinquish his kingship to him. Khurrazād then goes to Āzarbāyjān. *Sinī*, p. 5; *Tārīkh*, p. 59-60.

Khurrazād : *qv* Khurrazād b. Khurra Hormozd.

Khurāsān road : *qv* Rūm 5.

Khusrow Anūshīrwān : Khusrow Anūshīrwān built many cities among which is Bih-az-Andīv Khusrow (*qv* Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr), which means "better than Antākiya" and is one of the seven cities of Madāyin (*qv* Madā'in; *qv* K-r-dīndād; *qv* Bih Ardashīr). It is also called the Rūmiya of Madā'in. He also built Khusrow Shāpūr. He built the dam of Darband or the Bāb al-Abvāb, the distance of which from the sea to the mountains is approximately 20 *arsakhs*. He appointed an *amīr* to each of the regions of the Bāb al-Abvāb and gave the territory to the latter as a fief and provided for their sustenance from the revenues of the region. He declared that after the death of the appointed *amīr*, the governorship of each of the said regions, together with its lands, should go to the offspring. The children of these governors are to this day the defenders of these regions. Khusrow also gave these governors a beautiful robe of honor on which there was a kind of effigy and based on which he would give the new "king" his epithet.¹⁴⁶ In this manner epithets such as B-gh-rān Shāh, Shirwān Shāh, Fīlān Shāh and Alān Shāh were created.¹⁴⁷ One of these, was called Sarīr Shāh, on account of the silver throne that was specially assigned to him. In Arabic he was called Malīk al-Sarīr, and *sarīr* is a Persian noun meaning a small throne.¹⁴⁸ Amongst the great conquests of Khusrow were the conquests of the cities of Constantinople, Sarandīb and the province (*wilāya*) of Yemen (*qv* Yemen). The birth of the Prophet of Islam was during the reign of Khusrow, that is the 41st year of his rule. *Sinī*, p. 51-53; *Tārīkh*, p. 55-57.

¹⁴⁶ The precise meaning of this last passage is not clear to me.

¹⁴⁷ This passage of Ḥamza is very significant. It underlines the fact that one of the *new* elements in the military reforms undertaken by Khusrow I was the creation of *frontier* posts in the empire and not necessarily an overhaul of the existing system.

¹⁴⁸ The editor notes that the dictionaries do not confirm this meaning, for *sarīr* is [in fact] Arabic. *Işfahānī* 1988, p. 56, n. 1.

Khusrow Parvīz : 1) Khusrow Parvīz constructed a fire temple in the *qarīya* of Bārmīn in the *rūstā* of Kirmān and gave the villages in its vicinity as an endowment to it. *Sinī*, p. 53; *Tārīkh*, p. 58; 2) It was the Emperor Maurice (Mūrīqus) who aided Khusrow Parvīz against Bahrām Chūbīn. Maurice was killed by one of his soldiers called Fūqās. Fūqās assumed power. When Khusrow Parvīz was informed of Fūqās' assumption of power, he sent Shahrīzād (*qv* Shahrīzād *sic* Shahrvarāz) to Constantinople in revenge of Maurice. Shahrvarāz remained there for a while. Then one of the Patricius called Heraclius aided Khusrow Parvīz and gathered an army in one of the islands and attacked the city where Fūqās was staying and killed the latter. After the control of the Iranians over Syria, Ardashīr, the son of Shīrūyih (*qv* Shīrūyih), started reconstructing Jerusalem (Beyt al-Muqaddas). Then the Arabs came to Syria (*qv* Syria) after which the Romans were never able to take-over the region again. *Sinī*, p. 67; *Tārīkh*, p. 74.

Khusrow Shāpūr : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Khuzistān : *qv* Rām Hormozd Ardashīr; *qv* Hormozd Ardashīr; *qv* Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr; *qv* Kūrang; Ardashīr divided the waters of Khuzistān. And created rivers from these. Amongst these latter was the river of M-sh-r-qān or M-s-r-qān which in Persian is called Ardashīrakān. *Sinī*, p. 44; *Tārīkh*, p. 46.

Khwār (*rūstā*) : *qv* Işfahān 4; Khwār is a *rūstā* in Işfahān in one of the *qarīyas* of which Kay Ardashīr constructed the fire temple of Zurvān Ardashīr. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

King of Ḥabashih [Ethiopia] : *qv* Yemen.

King of Yemen : *qv* Yemen.

Kirmān (*rūstā*) : *qv* Bih Ardashīr; *qv* Sakānshāh; *qv* Khusrow Parvīz; *qv* Yazdgird III.

Kirmānshāh : *qv* Sakān Shah; Kirmānshāh was the epithet of Bahrām b. Shāpūr. *Sinī*, p. 48; *Tārīkh*, p. 52.

K-r-dīndād or Kurdābād : *qv* Zībāvand (Zīnāvand); K-r-dīndād is one of the seven cities of Ctesiphon. *Sinī*, p. 31-32; *Tārīkh*, p. 30-31.

Kūk : *qv* Iṣfahān ; Kūk is a village in the vicinity of Iṣfahān .

kūra : *Sinī*, p. 35 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 35.

Kūrang : Kūrang is the popular name given to the *rūstā* constructed by Hormozd, the son of Narsī, in Rām Hormozd in Khuzistān and called Vahasht Hormozd by the king. *Sinī*, p. 47 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 49.

Kūrānshāh, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih : *qv* Shīrūyih.

Kūshīd mountain (between Iṣfahān and Fārs) : It has been said that Kay Khusrow was informed that between the borders of Fārs and Iṣfahān there is a red mountain called the Kūshīd mountain where there is a dragon who has come to control the population and the cultivated areas of the region. So, together with his men, Kay Khusrow went to that region and, and killing the dragon, constructed a fire temple atop of the mountain which became known as the Kūshīd fire. *Sinī*, p. 36 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 36.

M

Madā'in (Madāyin, or Ctesiphon) : *qv* Zībāvand (Zīnāvand) ; *qv mulūk al-tawā'if* ; *qv* Bilāsh, the son of Fīrūz ; *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz ; *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān ; *qv* Yazdgird III ; *qv* Bridge of Jamshīd ; *qv* Constantinople ; *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf ; *qv* Bih Ardashīr ; *qv* Rūm ; *qv* Bih-az-Andīv Khusrow ; *qv* Sābāt (of Madā'in) ; *qv* H-n-bū or Kh-n-b (a city near Madā'in) ; *qv* K-r-dīndād ; The boundaries of the city of Ctesiphon, the largest city of Madā'in, was set up by Jamshīd. *Sinī*, p. 33 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 32.

Māhūya (the *marzbān* of Marv) : *qv* Yazdgird III.

Malik al-Sarīr : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Mardānshāh, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih : *qv* Shīrūyih.

Marāghih : Iṣfahānī quotes Mūsā Kasravī as follows : I saw Ḥasan b. 'Alī Hamadānī, the *raqqām* of Marāghih and one of "the most learned authorities in astronomical tables (*zīj*) ." In collaboration with him, and based on the *zīj*, I compared the regnal years of the Arsacid and the

Sāsānid kings with the Alexandrian calendar. We first calculated the period between the beginning of the Alexandrian year and the *hijra*. This we established as the base, and from this we calculated the rest. A detail of their methodology and the results that they obtained then follows. Kasravī admits that as a result of the destruction wrought on Iran by Alexander and the burning of their books and the murder of their *mobads*, *herbads*, scientists and physicians ... etc., the calculation of the years of Arsacid rule was difficult for him. *Sinī*, p. 14-17 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 14-18.

Mārīn (the fortress of) : *qv* Iṣfahān 4 ; The fortress of Mārīn is in Iṣfahān. Here Kay Ardashīr constructed a fire-temple called Shahr Ardashīr. *Sinī*, p. 37 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 38

°Markhurra, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih : *qv* Shīrūyih.

Marv : *qv* Zībāvand ; *qv* Alexandria ; *qv* Yazdgird III ; *qv* Nīq (Gate of) ; *qv* Quhandiz ; After conquering Iran, Afrāsiyāb constructed a wall in Marv which was located between the *quhandiz* and the Gate of Nīq. *Sinī*, p. 35 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 34.

Marzbān : *qv* Yazdgird III.

Maṣāni'-i Iṣṭakhr (or *Hizār Sutūn* or a Thousand Columns) : *qv* Rūm 5.

Meysān : *qv* Alexandria ; *qv* Baṣra ; *qv* Bahman Ardashīr ; *qv* Tigris 4 ; *qv* Bahman Ardashīr ; *qv* Alexandria ; *qv* Ashā' Ardashīr (or Inshā' Ardashīr) ; *qv* Shādshāpūr ; Meysān is the region in which Kay Ardashīr created Bahman Ardashīr. *Sinī*, p. 37 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

Mihr Ardashīr (Fire temple) : *qv* Iṣfahān 4 ; The fire temple that Kay Ardashīr constructed in the *rūstā* of Ardistan in Iṣfahān. *Sinī*, p. 37 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 38

Mihrīn (*rūstā*) : *qv* Iṣfahān 1 ; Mihrīn was constructed by Ṭahmūrath in Iṣfahān. *Sinī*, p. 31 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 31.

Mihrān River : The river of Mihrān, which is greater in size than that of the Euphrates, was opened up by Manūchīhr. *Sinī*, p. 34 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 34.

Miṣr : 1) According to some the appearance of Moses and the exodus of the Children of Israel from

Egypt took place during the rule of Manūchihr. *Sinī*, p. 33; *Tārīkh*, p. 33; 2) When Moses brought the Children of Israel out of Egypt, he stayed in the desert of Tiyya for 40 years during which time he managed their affairs. He wrote the Torah in the same place for them. Yūshi'?, the successor of Moses, also led the Children of Israel from the desert to Palestine during Manūchihr's reign. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 34.

Mowṣil: *qv* Būd Ardashīr; *qv* Kavād, the son of Firūz.

M-sh-r-qān (or M-h-r-qān, or Ardashīrakān, river of): *qv* Işfahān 6.

mulūk al-tawā'if: When Alexander killed the elite and powerful men of Iran and destroyed the cities and fortresses and achieved his goal, he wrote to Aristotle and said: Through destroying their kings and elites, I have now vanquished the population of the east. I am fearful, however, lest, after me, they set out against the western regions. I have therefore decided to also gather the princess of the realm and join them to their fathers [i.e., destroy them]. What do you think of this? Aristotle replied: If you kill the princes, then rule will pass to the lowlife and the commoners. And once these assume power they will commit even more oppression and corruption. You must gather the princes and give them each a province or a city. These then would start fighting amongst each other and hatred will spread amongst them. In this manner they will be preoccupied with themselves and will not pay any attention to the population of the west [i.e. the Romans]. *Sinī*, p. 39; *Tārīkh*, p. 40. Alexander, therefore, divided the eastern territories amongst the *mulūk al-tawā'if*. Once Alexander died these set out against one another. It was during their rule that the books which are [scattered] amongst people, such as the Book of M-rūk, and S-n-dbād and B-r-nās and Shīmās and the likes of these, the total of which is around seventy books, were written. Around twenty-one of the *mulūk al-tawā'if* assumed power. The total number of the *mulūk al-tawā'if* kings, however, was ninety. And all of them paid their respect to the King of Iraq whose seat of power was in Ctesiphon or Madāyin. In his correspondence with them, this latter would start [his salutation] with himself. *Sinī*, p. 39-49; *Tārīkh*, p. 41.

N

Naṣībīne (or Dāriyān): Dārā constructed a city to the north of Naṣībīne and called it Dārā-ān (Dāriyān). It still exists today and is called Dāriyā. *Sinī*, p. 39; *Tārīkh*, p. 39.

Nīq (Gate of, in Marv): The wall which Afrāsiyāb constructed in Marv was between the *quhandiz* and the Gate of Nīq. *Sinī*, p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 34.

Nīshāpūr: *qv* Shapūr, the son of Ardashīr; Nīshāpūr is one of the cities of the province (*wilāya*) of Abarshahr. *Sinī*, p. 44; *Tārīkh*, p. 47.

O

ostān: *Sinī*; p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 35.

P

Palestine: *qv* Jerusalem; *qv* Dārā, the son of Dārā; *qv* Miṣr (Egypt); 1) Yūshi'?, the successor of Moses, led the Children of Israel from the desert to Palestine during Manūchihr's reign. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 34; 2) In his sixtieth year of rule, Luhrāsb sent Bukht Naṣr b. Vīv (Gīv) b. Gūdarz to Palestine against the Jews. The latter destroyed Jerusalem and took its population in captivity under his own men. Before this he had sent the Ninevean S-n-ḥārīb to the region [i.e., Palestine], but the latter had not been successful. *Sinī*, p. 36; *Tārīkh*, p. 36.

Pūrāndukht: *qv* Būrāndukht.

Q

qarīya: *qv* M-m-nūr; *qv* Dārak; *qv* Ardīstān; *qv* Jājāh; *qv* Y-vān; *qv* Bārmīn.

Q-r-ṭ-mān (village or *dih*): *qv* Āzarmīdukht.

Q-sbih, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih: *qv* Shīrūyih.

Q-s-dil, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih: *qv* Shīrūyih.

Quhandiz (of Marv): 1) The fortress (*quhandiz*) of Marv was constructed by Ṭahmūrath-i zībāvand (*qv* zībāvand). *Sinī*, p. 31; *Tārīkh*, p. 31; 2) The

wall which Afrāsiyāb constructed in Marv was between the *quhandiz* and the Gate of Nīq. *Sinī*, p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 34.

Qum : During Key Kavād's reign the king added another *wilāya* to Iṣfahān and called it Irān-vathārath-Kavād. And in this same *wilāya*, during the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, there was a *rūstā* that connected the *wilāya* to the territories (*a'māl*) of Qum. *Sinī*, p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 35.

Qūmis : *qv* Kāshghar ; Alexander fell ill in Qūmis on his way back to Babylon. *Sinī*, p. 39; *Tārīkh*, p. 40.

R

Rām Ardashīr : *qv* Ardashīr Khurra ; I do not know where Rām Ardashīr is located. Today people call it Rayy-shahr. *Sinī*, p. 43; *Tārīkh*, p. 45.

Rām Fīrūz : *qv* India ; *qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird ; Rām Fīrūz is a city constructed by Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird, in India. *Sinī*, p. 50; *Tārīkh*, p. 53.

✓ Rām Hormozd Ārdashīr : *qv* Ardashīr Khurra : 1) Rām Hormozd Ardashīr is the name of a city in Khuzistān. For the purposes of abbreviation they have deleted the last part of the name. *Sinī*, p. 44; *Tārīkh*, p. 45; 2) Hormozd, the son of Narsī, constructed a *rūstā* in Rām Hormozd in Khuzistān and called it Vahasht Hormozd. People called it Kūrang. *Sinī*, p. 47; *Tārīkh*, p. 49; 3) This *rūstā* is next to Īdhaj which is part of the *wilāya* of Rām Hormozd.

Rām Vishnāsqān (Rām Vishtāspān or Fasā) : Rām Vishnāsqān is the triangular city built by Gushtāsb in the *wilāya* of Dārābjird in the region of Fārs. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 37.

Rayy : *qv* *wilāya* ; *qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird ; During Key Kavād's rule, and before the king added the *wilāya* of Irān-vathārath-Kavād to Iṣfahān, Rayy, like Iṣfahān, had only one *wilāya* (*kūra*). *Sinī*, p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 35.

Rayy-shahr : *qv* Rām Ardashīr.

River of Iraq : *qv* Rūm 6 ; The river of Iraq was the river which was dug by the Arsacid king,

Shāpūr, the son of Arsaces, in Iraq, after he had defeated the Roman Emperor Antiochus. *Sinī*, p. 40-41; *Tārīkh*, p. 42.

River of the King (or *Nahr al-Malik*) : *qv* River of Iraq ; *qv* Rūm 6.

Rowshī (Rowshan) Fīrūz : *qv* India ; *qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird ; Rowshan Fīrūz is a city constructed by Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird, near India. *Sinī*, p. 50; *Tārīkh*, p. 53.

R-sīqābād (or Rustam Kavād) : *qv* Hormozd Ardashīr.

Rūm : *qv* Azaṛbāyjān ; *qv* Constantinople ; *qv* Iraq 2; 1) Upon his death, one of the Byzantine emperors sent his son to Yazdgird¹⁴⁹ in protection. He asked the Sāsānid king to send an appointee to Rūm as vice-regent for his son until the latter reaches maturity. Yazdgird sent Shirwīn B-r-niyān the governor (*ra'īs*) of Dastbey (or Dashtbey). The latter ruled for twenty years over Rūm after which he gave the Roman territories, except for the city of Bāsh-r-vān (*qv* Bāsh-r-vān) back to the son of the Emperor.. The Arabized version of the name of this city became Bāj-r-vān. *Sinī*, p. 21-22; *Tārīkh*, p. 14-15; 2) Fereydūn gave Rūm up until the regions of Farang (*bilād-i farang*), together with the western regions (*bilād-i maghrib*), to his son eldest son Salm. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 33; 4) It has been said that the wars of Kay Ardashīr, or Bahman Isfandiyār b. Gushtāsb, reached Rūmya. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 37; 5) The army of Humāy, the daughter of Bahman, once fought the Romans and took a large population into captivity. Humāy used the construction workers among these to construct the buildings known as the *Maṣāni'-i Iṣṭakhr*, which is known in Persian as a Thousand Columns (*Hizār Sutūn*). These were three buildings in three locations : one was next to Iṣṭakhr. The second was on the road that led to Dārābjird. And the third was on the Khurāsān road. *Sinī*, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 38; 6) Amongst the Arsacid kings, Shāpūr the son of Arsaces, was a powerful king. Jesus Christ appeared

¹⁴⁹ Note that, according to Ḥamza, this Yazdgird is the one whose name was deleted from the roster of Sāsānid kings. Known as Yazdgird the Kind (*layyīn*), he is said to have been the father of Yazdgird the Sinner. He is supposed to have ruled for 82 years! Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 51, n. 3.

ring his reign. Shāpūr fought against the Romans. At the time the Roman king was Antīkhus (Antiochus), the third king after Alexander. It was he who constructed Anṭākiya (Antioch). Shāpūr killed many of the Romans and took a group of them captive. He gathered the children of many of these in a ship and drowned all of them in revenge for the looting of Dārā. He returned much of the wealth that Alexander had taken from the land of Iran to his country and spent some of it in digging the river of Arvandkavāq which is called in Arabic the river of the king (Nahr al-malik). *Sinī*, p. 40-41; *Tārīkh*, p. 41-42; 7) Before Gūdarz, the son of Arsaces, attacked Jerusalem (*qv* Palestine 2), forty years after Christ's ascension, Tīṭūs the son of Isfiyānūs, the ruler of Rūm, attacked the Children of Israel and set upon slaughtering them and taking them into captivity. *Sinī*, p. 41; *Tārīkh*, p. 42; 8) It was Shāpūr Dhu'l-kāf who went to Rūm in disguise and stayed in a church before being taken captive. He ruled for 72 years and from the time that he was born up to the fortieth year [of his rule] his seat was Gundīshāpūr (*qv* Gundīshāpūr). He then moved to Madā'in (*qv* Madā'in) where he stayed till the end of his life. Once he became victorious over the king of Rūm, he forced the latter to fix the destruction that he had brought and to use sun dried brick, clay, and plaster for the purpose. In this way he also reconstructed the walls of Gundīshāpūr, half with sun-dried bricks and half with bricks. *Sinī*, p. 47; *Tārīkh*, p. 50.

Rūmiyya (of Madā'in) : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

rūstā : *qv* Anārbār; *qv* Irān-vathārath-Kavād; *qv* Isfahān; *qv* Mihrīn; *qv* Qum; *qv* Khwār; *qv* Aymariḥ; *qv* Vahasht Hormozd; *qv* Jayy; *qv* Awād; *qv* Kirmān; *qv* Abkhāz.

Rustam (the general of *Qādisiyyih*) : *qv* Yazdgird I.

Rustam Kavād (or R-sīqābād) : *qv* Hormozd Ardashīr.

S

Sabaṭ (of Madā'in) : *qv* Bilāsh, the son of Fīrūz.

Sābūr : *qv* Bīshāpūr.

Sakān: *qv* *Sakān Shah*.

Sakān Shah : Sakān Shah was the epithet of Bahrām b. Bahrām b. Bahrām (Bahrām III). He was so called because, when the kings of Iran announced their sons or brothers as incumbent prince, they used to give them as epithet the name of one of the cities. When the prince would assume kingship, they would then call him the King of kings. It was for this reason that they used to call king Bahrām Kirmānshāh and on account of this as well that during the life-time of his father Kavād, Nowshīrwān used to have the epithet of *Yaqarsjān Garshāh* [*sic*], which means the king of Ṭabaristān for "Yaqar" [*sic*] is the name of the mountain, "Yaqarsjān" is the name given to level land, and "kar (gar)" is the name for mounds and hills. The Sakān in the epithet of Bahrām is the name of Sīstān. *Sinī*, p. 46; *Tārīkh*, p. 48-49.

Samarqand : *qv* Alexandria; During Gushtāsb's rule, his son Isfandiyār constructed a wall behind Samarqand against the Turks. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 37.

Sarandīb : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Sarīr Shāh : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Sārūya : *qv* Isfahān 1; Ṭahmūrath constructed Sārūya in Isfahān. *Sinī*, p. 31; *Tārīkh*, p. 31

Sawād (*rūstā*, of Iraq) : *qv* Alexandria; *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz; In the region of Sawād, on the banks of the Upper Zāb, Kay Ardashīr constructed a city which he called, after himself, Ardashīr Abād. In the Nabatean language it is called H-māniyā. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 37.

Sayf b. Dhī Yazan (king of Yemen) : *qv* Yemen.

Shādmān, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih : *qv* Shīrūyih.

Shādshāpūr : *qv* Shāpūr, the son of Ardashīr; Shādshāpūr is one of the cities of Meysān which in the Nabatean language is called Vabhā. *Sinī*, p. 47; *Tārīkh*, p. 47.

Shādzīg, Arvandzīg, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih : *qv* Shīrūyih.

Shahr-ābād-Kavād : *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz.

Shahriyār, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih : *qv* Shīrūyih.

Shahrīzād (*sic* Shahrvarāz) : *qv* Khusrow Parvīz ; Shahrīzād was the holder (*ṣāhib*) of the western frontier. When news reached Shahrīzād that they have appointed a child [i.e., Shīrūyih] to kingship, he came to the king [i.e., Shīrūyih] and murdered him in his house. *Sinī*, p. 54 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 58-59.

Shahrzūr : *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz.

Shāpūr (*wilāya* of Fārs) : *qv* Bahrām b. Mardānshāh ; The *wilāya* of Shāpūr was located in Fārs. *Sinī*, p. 26 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 19

Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf : It was Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf who went to Rūm in disguise and stayed in a church before being taken captive. He ruled for 72 years and from the time that he was born up to the thirtieth year [of his rule?] his seat was Gundīshāpūr (*qv* Gundīshāpūr). He then moved to Madāyin (*qv* Madā'in) where he stayed till the end of his life. Once he became victorious over the king of Rūm, he forced the latter to fix the destruction that he had wrought and to use sun dried brick, clay, and plaster for the purpose. In this way he also reconstructed the walls of Gundīshāpūr, half with sun-dried bricks and half with bricks. *Sinī*, p. 47 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 50. Shāpūr constructed many cities : Among these were Buzurj Shāpūr or 'A-k-b-rā, Azān?, Khurra Shāpūr or Shūsh (Sūs) (*qv* Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr) and another city next to it. When the people of one of these rebelled against him, he brought elephants and destroyed and leveled the city. He also settled the captives that he had obtained from Rūm (*qv* Rūm 8) and settled some of these in Ḥadīthih.¹⁵⁰ In the village (*dih*) of Ḥīrvān (or Jīrvān) (*qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird) in the *rūstā* of Jayy (*qv* Iṣfahān), Shāpūr constructed a fire-temple called Sorūsh-Ādharān and endowed the *qarīyas* of Y-vān and Jājāh to it. It was during his rule that Ādharbād came to him and burnt zinc on his chest. *Sinī*, p. 47-48 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 50-51.

Shāpūr the son of Ardashīr : The blessed Shāpūr, the son of Ardashīr, constructed the dam of Shūshtar

which is one of the wonders of the East. He also constructed cities : Among these were Nīshāpūr, Bīshāpūr, Shādshāpūr, Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr, Shāpūr-Khwāst, Bīlāsh-Shāpūr and Fīrūz-Shāpūr. *Sinī*, p. 44-45 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 46-47.

Shāpūr-Khwāst : *qv* Shāpūr, the son of Ardashīr.

Shīrūyih, the son of Khusrow Parvīz : *qv* Khusrow Parvīz 2 ; When Shīrūyih realized that his brothers were launching a mutiny against him, he killed 18 of them together with a group of their children. The names of his brothers were as follows : Shahriyār, Mardānshāh, Kūrānshāh, Fīrūzānshāh, Afrūdshāh, Shādmān, Zad-abzūd-shāh, Shādzīg, Arvandzīg, Q-s-dīl, Q-sbih, Khurrah, Markhurra, Zādān-khurra, Shīrzād, and Javānshīr. *Sinī*, p. 54 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 59.

Shirwān : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Shirwān Shāh : *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān.

Shīrzād, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih : *qv* Shīrūyih.

Shūsh (or Sūs) : *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf ; *qv* Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr.

Shūshtar (the dam of) : The blessed Shāpūr, the son of Ardashīr, constructed the dam of Shūshtar which is one of the wonders of the East. *Sinī*, p. 44 ; *Tārīkh*, p. 46.

Shūshtar : *qv* Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr.

Sīstān : *qv* Sakān Shah.

Sorūsh-Ādharān (Fire-temple) : *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf ; *qv* Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird.

Sughd : *qv* Alexandria.

Sūq al-Aḥvāz (or Hūjīstān-i Wājār?) : *qv* Hormozd Ardashīr.

Sūs or (Shūsh) : *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf ; *qv* Bih-az-Andīv-Shāpūr.

Syria : *qv* Dārā, the son Dārā ; *qv* Babylonia or Bābil ; *qv* Khusrow Parvīz 2.

T

Ṭabaristān : *qv* Sakān Shah ; 1) Afrāsiyāb conquered and occupied Iran for twelve years during

¹⁵⁰ The editor notes that according to Yāqūt Ḥadīthai al-Furāt or Ḥadīthai al-Nūr is located a few *farsakhs* from Anbār to which the Ḥadīthih mentioned here might refer. Iṣfahānī 1988, p. 1.

Manūchihr's reign. During this time he dethroned Manūchihr and imprisoned him in the thickets of Ṭabaristān. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 34; 2) During the life-time of his father Kavād, Nowshīrwān used to have the epithet of Farasjān Garshāh, which means the king of Ṭabaristān. *Sinī*, p. 46; *Tārīkh*, p. 48.

Taymarih (*rūstā*): *qv* Işfahān 5; In the *rūstā* of Taymarih in Işfahān, Humāy constructed the beautiful city of Khumīhan. *Sinī*, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

A Thousand Columns (*Maşāni'-i Işṭakhr* or *Hizār Sūtūn*): *qv* Rūm 5.

Tibet: When dividing his realm amongst his three sons, Fereydūn gave Tibet, China, as well as the eastern regions (*bilād-i shargh*) to his son Ṭūj [sic]. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 33.

Tigris of Başra (or Furāt-i Meysān): *qv* Bahman Ardashīr.

Tigris: *qv* Bridge of Jamshīd; *qv* Bih Ardashīr; *qv* Euphrates; *qv* Zāb; 1) The ebb of the Tigris. *Sinī*, p. 33; *Tārīkh*, p. 32; 2) Manūchihr constructed great canals from the Tigris as well as the Euphrates. *Sinī*, p. 34; *Tārīkh*, p. 34; 3) The waters of the Tigris were sweetened by Zū, the son of Ṭahmāsb, who opened up the two rives of Zāb into it. *Sinī*, p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 35; 4) The city that Kay Ardashīr constructed in Meysān and called Bahman Ardashīr, was known as the Tigris of Başra (Farāt- Meysān). *Sinī*, p. 32; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

Transoxiana: Fīrūz, the son of Yazdgird, constructed a wall between Transoxiana and Irānshahr. *Sinī*, p. 50; *Tārīkh*, p. 53.

U

Ustān Farkān (or Aspānvar?): the previous name of Dārābjird was Ustān Farkān (or Aspānvar?). *Sinī*, p. 38; *Tārīkh*, p. 39.

'ushr: *qv* Işfahān 2. *Sinī*, p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 35.

V

Vabhā: *qv* Shādshāpūr.

Vahasht Ardashīr: *qv* Ardashīr Khurra; *qv* Rām Hormozd Ardashīr; I don't know the [exact]

location of Vahasht Ardashīr. *Sinī*, p. 43; *Tārīkh*, p. 45.

Vilāshjird (or Vilāshgard): *qv* Kavad, the son of Fīrūz.

W

Wilāya: *qv* Irān-vathārath-Kavād; *qv* Rayy; *qv* Işfahān; *qv* Dārābjird; *qv* Shāpūr (in Fārs); *qv* Qum; *qv* Abarshahr; *qv* Kavād, the son of Fīrūz; *qv* Yemen.

Y

Yaqarsjān: *qv* Sakān Shah.

Yazdgird III, the sōn of Shahriyār: *qv* Shīrūyih; The reason Yazdgird escaped death at the hands of Shīrūyih was that he had a nanny who took him out of Madā'in through a scheme and hid him. When Yazdgird assumed kingship, he was in constant warfare for 16 years, until he was murdered in Mary in the year 31 A.H. This was the eighth year of 'Uthmān's caliphate. When Yazdgird was leaving Iraq, he took with him as much as he could of the jewels, golden and silver plates, as well as his army and wives and children. Amongst these were a thousand cooks, a thousand minstrels, a thousand hound trainers, and a thousand falconers. Khurrazād b. Khurra Hormozd, the brother of Rustam, the general of *Qādisiyyih*, left with him. He took Yazdgird first to Işfahān (*qv* Işfahān), then to Kirmān (*qv* Kirmān) and finally to Marv (*qv* Marv). And he put him in the custody of Māhūya, the *marzbān* of Marv. He [i.e., Khurrazād b. Khurra Hormozd] then obtained a contract from Yazdgird through which the latter relinquished the kingship [of Iran] to him.¹⁵¹ Khurrazād then goes to Āzarbāyjān. The king of the Hephtalites then set out in war against Yazdgird. In the murder of Yazdgird, Māhūya collaborated with the king of the Hephtalites. To this day, the progeny of Māhūya in

¹⁵¹ The mutiny of Khurrazād b. Khurra Hormozd against Yazdgird III is a crucial episode of the last years of Sāsānid history, and is corroborated by Sebeos, amongst other sources. It clarifies a substantial part of the political history of Khurāsān and Ṭabaristān in decades subsequent to the death of the last Sāsānid king. See Pourshariati 2007.

Marv are known as "king killers" (*khudā kushān*). *Sinī*, p. 55; *Tārīkh*, p. 59.

Yemen (*wilāya*): *qv* Khusrow Anūshīrwān; Yemen was conquered during the reign of Khusrow I. The story of its conquest, the likes of which only occurs in the sagas of the prophets, was as follow: Six hundred of Khusrow's cavalry set out in war against 30,000 [of Yemenites]. They [i.e., Khusrow's cavalry] killed all, none being saved except those who took refuge in the sea, who were, in turn, drowned. The reason [for Khusrow's expedition] was that the king of Ḥabashih [Ethiopia] had [prior to this] crossed the sea and had come to Yemen. He had expelled all the men of Yemen, establishing intimacy with their women folk. The king of Yemen, Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, then went to Khusrow and remained in his court for seven years. He informed Khusrow of the news of the king of Ḥabashih and his rape of the Yemeni women. Anūshīrwān, who was a man of honor, thought to himself: it is not in my creed to dupe my army into aiding those who were not of the same faith [i.e., as the Iranians] and to set them on sea. I have, however, in my prisons those deserving of death. It is best, therefore, to send these against the enemy. If they are victorious, I will appoint them as the rulers of that kingdom. If they die, I have not committed any sins. Under the leadership of Vahraz, who was one of the progenies of Bihāfarīdūn b. Sāsān b. Bahman b. Isfandiyār, Khusrow then sent the prisoners, numbering 809 people, and mostly of the progeny of Sāsān and Bahman b. Isfandiyār, to the war against Ḥabashih [Ethiopia]. These then set out with eight ships. Two of these were ship-wrecked. Six reached safety. Vahraz then ordered his men to eat and disposed the remainder of their food in the sea. When his companions objected to this, he replied: If you remain alive, you can eat fish. If you die, there is no regretting the lack of food after the soul departs. He then set the ships on fire and told his comrades: If you desire your freedom, you should strive to defeat the enemy for if you slacken, you will be killed. He then attacked the Ethiopian army and defeated and killed all of the enemy in five hours. The story of this victory reached the kings of many nations. *Sinī*, p. 51-53; *Tārīkh*, p. 55-57.

Y-vān (*qarīya*): *qv* Shāpūr Dhu'l-aktāf.

Z

Zāb (rivers of): 1) Zū, the son of Ṭahmāsb, opened up the two rives of Zāb and sweetened the waters of the Tigris with them, *Sinī*, p. 35; *Tārīkh*, p. 34-35; 2) On the banks of the Upper Zāb river Kay Ardashīr constructed a city called, after himself, Ardashīr Abād. In the Nabatean language it is called H-māniyā. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 37.

Zābulistān: In the south Kay Ardashīr fought against Zābulistān and took many people captive. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 37.

Zad-abzūd-shāh, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih: *qv* Shīrūyih.

Zādān-khurra, the son of Khusrow Parvīz, the brother of Shīrūyih: *qv* Shīrūyih.

Zībāvand (Zīnāvand) Ṭahmūrath-i: zībāvand means a full-armored man. Ṭahmūrath-i zībāvand constructed the city of Babylon and the fortress (*quhandiz*) of Marv (*qv* *quhandiz* of Marv). It has been maintained in some books that he also built K-r-dīndād which is one of the seven cities of Madā'in. I believe that this name is a corruption of the word Kurdābād where "Dastān" was. *Sinī*, p. 31-32; *Tārīkh*, p. 30-31.

zuṭ: *qv* Bahrām-i Gūr, the son of Yazdgird.

Zurvān Ardashīr (Fire temple): *qv* Iṣfahān 4; Zurvān Ardashīr is the fire temple that Kay Ardashīr constructed in the *qarīya* of Dārak in the *rūstā* of Khwār in Iṣfahān. *Sinī*, p. 37; *Tārīkh*, p. 38.

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pp 15 62